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GREEK PAPYRI

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GREEK PAPYRI

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EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS
AND NOTES BY

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WITH NINETEEN PLATES



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PREFACE

IN THE SPRING of 1921 and 1922 the Library of Cornell University became interested in the purchase of Greek papyri and set aside a considerable sum for this purpose. The negotiations for the purchases, in both years, were carried on through Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan, who gave his time and attention to the scientific interests of a University other than that of his own immediate allegiance with a generosity which is characteristic of his broad and scholarly outlook. The editors wish to express their gratitude to him for his constant helpfulness. For the large oil account from the Zenon archive which appears as 1 in the group of documents here presented, Cornell University is indebted to its distinguished alumnus, Mr. Henry J. Patten, of the Class of 1884. It was his generous contribution which was allocated to the purchase of this particularly clear and handsome piece.

By a grant from the Heckscher Research Council of Cornell University the editors were enabled to have the papyri photographed. This was done by Mr. John P. Troy, the official photographer of Cornell University, who used panchromatic plates with excellent results, especially in bringing out the lettering upon the papyri of darker coloration. Large sections of 20 were badly charred and extremely fragile and could only be handled with the greatest care. In the reading of that document the photographs were of the greatest use to us, as, indeed, they were throughout the work of editing.

The method followed in the printing of this volume, that of photographing the typewritten pages, was necessitated by considerations of economy. Miss Catherine Ruth Smith, a student at New York University, undertook the exacting task of the typewriting. We are greatly indebted to her for her carefulness, for her personal interest in the work and for her constant effort to make the results as presentable as possible. To the management of the Columbia University Press, which assumed the entire expense of publication, we express our appreciation of its willingness to support a type of historical research that has in it so little of dramatic or popular appeal.

In selecting the numbers of the Cornell group for presentation in this volume we were largely guided by the interest aroused by the documents as we read them. We have thought it advisable to restrict ourselves to the Ptolemaic and Roman imperial periods, including, however, the large land register of the reign of Diocletian, 20, and several others of that time. With these exceptions no documents of the Byzantine period appear.

We must acknowledge our own indebtedness and that of Cornell University to the authorities of the British Museum and in particular to Mr. H. Idris Bell and Mr. C. T. Lamacraft of the British Museum, for the unsparing use of their time, their skill and their knowledge in the interest of the belated development of papyrological research in the United States. Mr. Bell's original inventories of the papyri purchased in the years 1921 and 1922 contained a provisional dating and statement of content of each piece sent to Cornell University. His suggestions as to time and character of the documents have been of great assistance to us. We, however, are responsible

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for all errors of judgment in dating, reading and interpretation. Mr. Lamacraft prepared the materials for reading with the skill which has made him so valuable a participant in the rapid advance in this field of research.

Other acknowledgments of assistance given to us will be found in the introductions and notes which accompany our readings.

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June, 1926.

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*Slightly reduced.

NOTE ON THE TEXT AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The large number of editions of non-literary papyri has made necessary the adoption of certain conventions in the printing of papyri texts. These conventions and the use of the signs indicated below (with the exception of the double round bracket, which is new) we adopt without change. The texts are reproduced in modern form, i. e. the punctuation, accents and breathings are added. Except in certain instances especially noted in the text, symbols are written out in full and abbreviations expanded. Numbers and fractions follow the original, being given as signs or written out as words according as they appear on the papyrus. Peculiarities of the text (misspellings, corrections, mistakes, etc.) are retained, and corrected in the critical apparatus or commentary. Iota adscript is so printed where it occurs in the text; otherwise iota subscript is supplied. References to documents in this volume are put in heavy faced type, thus: **20**. Wherever possible, check strokes, marks, accents, etc., are reproduced in the text rather than described in the notes. The following conventional signs are employed:

- [] indicate loss of letters in lacunae. The approximate number of letters is indicated by dots,, or, if restored by the editors from the context, by letters: *Καίσαρος* ...]
- () indicate expansion of abbreviations.
- < > indicate omissions in the original which have been supplied by the editors.
- { } indicate superfluous letters in the original.
- [] indicate erasures or deletions in the original.
- (()) indicate brackets in the original.
- indicate doubtful letters. In the Greek text each dot represents a letter; in the English introduction, commentary and translation three dots indicate a lacuna, however long. A dot underneath a letter indicates that the reading is not clear or certain.
- « » indicate deletion by the editors of letters or words appearing in the text.

The following abbreviations are used in referring to papyrological publications:

- Annales* - *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*.
Archiv - *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, ed. U. Wilcken, 1901 -
BGU - *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, vols. I-VI. Teubner, 1900 -
BL - F. Preisigke, *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Aegypten*. Strassburg, 1913 ff.
 Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Lag.* - Aug. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides*, 4 vols. Paris, 1903-1907.
 Cantarelli, *Prefetti* - L. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto I-III*. Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma, 1906-1912.
CIG - A. Boeckh et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Berlin, 1828-1877.
CIL - T. Mommsen et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863 -
Cl. Phil. - *Classical Philology*.
CPH - G. Wessely, *Corpus Papyrorum Hermopolitanorum* (= *Stud. Pal.* 5), 1905.
CPR - G. Wessely, *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*. Wien, 1895.
 Daremberg-Saglio - Ch. Daremberg et E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines*. Paris, 1873-1919.
 Dessau - H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, 1892-1916.
Dikaiomata - *Dikaiomata*, Auszüge aus Alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen. Berlin, 1913.
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 Dittenberger, *Syll.* - W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. III. Lipsiae, 1915-

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- JEA - *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- Jouguet, *Vie municipale* - P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*. Paris, 1911.
- Lesquier, *Inst. mil.* - J. Lesquier, *Les Institutions Militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*. Paris, 1911.
- Liebenam, *Fasti* - W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares imperii Romani*. Bonn, 1909.
- LS - H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 8th ed., New York, 1897.
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- Mayser, *Grammatik* - E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig, 1906.
- Mél. Nicole - *Mélanges Nicole: Recueil de mémoires . . . offerts à J. Nicole*. Genève, 1905.
- Meyer, *Chron.* - Ernst Meyer, *Untersuchung zur Chronologie der ersten Ptolemäer auf Grund der Papyri* (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, zweites Beiheft). Leipzig, 1925.
- Meyer, *Gr. Texte* - P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Texte aus Aegypt.* .. Berlin, 1913.
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- Mitteis, *Chrest.* }
 Mitteis, *Grundzüge* } - L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Leipzig-Berlin, 1912 (vol. II, pt. 1, *Grundzüge*; vol. II, pt. 2, *Chrestomathie*).
- Oertel, *Liturgie* - W. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*. Leipzig, 1917.
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- Otto, *Priester und Tempel* - W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Aegypten*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1905-1908.
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- P. Cairo Edgar - C. C. Edgar, *Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon*. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, vols. XVIII-XXI.
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- P. Cairo Preis. - Fr. Preisigke, *Griechische Urkunden des Aegyptischen Museums zu Kairo (Schriften der Wiss. Ges. in Strassburg, 8. Heft)*. Strassburg, 1911.
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und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Leipzig-Berlin,
1912. (Vol. I, pt. 1, *Grundzüge*; vol. I, pt. 2,
Chrestomathie.)
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und Nubien*. Leipzig, 1899.
- Z. Sav.-St. - *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*.

INVENTORY NUMBERS

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 II = Second Series, Purchase of 1922
 (See Preface)

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5	-	II	4	31	-	I	74 verso
6	-	II	5	32	-	I	87 verso
7	-	I	38	33	-	I	91
8	-	I	33	34	-	I	93 recto and verso
9	-	II	26	35	-	I	94
10	-	II	9	36	-	I	95
11	-	II	28	37	-	I	98
12	-	II	15	38	-	I	105
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17	-	II	11	43	-	II	14
18	-	I	80 (a) and (b)	44	-	II	27
19	-	II	30	45	-	I	81
20	-	I	116 (a) and (b)	46	-	II	10
20 (a)	-	New York Historical Association, Abbott Catalogue (1915) 389					
21	-	I	13	47	-	I	82
22	-	I	14	48	-	I	83
23	-	I	17	49	-	II	7
24	-	I	10	50	-	II	8
25	-	I	3	51	-	I	56 verso
26	-	I	57 verso	52	-	I	122
				53	-	I	88
				54	-	I	6
				55	-	I	29 verso

THE CORNELL PAPYRI

1. RECORD OF LAMP OIL ASSIGNED TO THE RETINUE OF APOLLONIUS

Philadelphia

8 ft. 2 1/2 in. x 4 in.

256 B. C.

For the original publication and commentary upon this valuable account see Westermann in *Cl. Phil.* XIX 229-260. This first reading and the interpretation called forth fundamental criticisms and helpful suggestions from interested scholars. We are particularly obligated in this respect to C. C. Edgar of the Cairo Museum and to Ulrich Wilcken's criticisms in *UPZ* I 451-452. Their analyses of the text and the original interpretation have made necessary the following reconsideration of the meaning and place of this account among the Zenon documents.

Of the twenty-eight persons whose names appear in the oil account the following thirteen can now be fully identified in other of the Zenon documents: Apollonius the dioecetes; Amyntas, Artemidorus, Bannaeus, Dionysodorus, Gibalus, Helenus, Iatrocles, Menodorus, Nicanor, Philon, Pyron, Zenon; see *Cl. Phil.* XIX 238-240. More recent references will be given in the notes. In addition to these names, Edgar has suggested the interesting conjecture that the Ana (?) of l. 198, who works with the baker, Philon, is to be identified with the Semitic slave girl (παῖδ(σ)α) whose name began with A, one of the two slaves whom Philon bought in the year 28 and apparently transferred against his loan from Zenon in the year 29 (*P. Cairo Edgar* 65. 48-52,

115-119, cf. intro. p. 95 and note to l. 56). Six of the names in this Cornell account are found duplicated in other Zenon papyri without sufficient warrant for identification. Seven names appear here for the first time; cf. *Cl. Phil.* XIX 240-242, and the changes recorded in our notes. For the dating by the Gregorian calendar as of 256 a.o. we now follow Meyer, *Chron.*, Tafel I, p. 79.

The account is a daily record (ἐφημερίς, l. 2) of the castor oil (κικί) given out during the two first months of the year 28 for lighting purposes to the numerous departments of service of the retinue of Apollonius. These include three accounting offices, the secretarial force of Apollonius with its chief (ll. 8, 127, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I 452), a second secretarial force, a baker's establishment, a warder for the table silver of the retinue, a steward's storeroom, steward's record office, two stables, bath master, and two other departments whose work cannot be determined, namely, that of Philistus and Menodorus (ll. 15, 133) and that of Herophantus (ll. 18, 137). That the oil was for illumination only is proven by the number of instances of assignment "for hand lamp" (ἐπὶ λύχνον, ll. 44, 48, 67, etc.), "for hand lamps" (ἐπὶ λύχνους, l. 84), or "for a torch lamp" (ἐπὶ λαμπτήρα, ll. 160, 166-167). Cf. *P. Petrie* II, XV, p. 72, καὶ εἰς τὴν παράκλυσιν εἰς λύχνους κίκιος κβ. Another record must have been kept for the higher grade and more costly sesame oil which was used. This seems assured by the fact that Herophantus received as his ration of κικί 1/8 of a kotyle from Apellaeus 1st to Apellaeus 16th. Beginning with Apellaeus 16th he received sesame oil (ἐλαιον, cf. *P. Rev.* p. 131) on direct order from Zenon, the amount of κικί he had received being deducted for the remainder of that month. Throughout the month of Audnaeus he received κικί again; and the amount, which was double that granted him in the first half of Apellaeus, again appears in our record. The same observation is to be made, in reversed form, in the case of Cleandrus (ll. 203-214). On Audnaeus 21st he received an

inordinately large amount of *kiki* (4 *kotylai* for hand lamp use "because he had not received sesame oil"). On the 22nd he received 7 1/2 *kotylai* of *kiki*. Thereafter he does not appear upon our castor oil record. The reason for this fact is not given, but it is a sensible supposition that he was again assigned sesame oil, and that his ration of light oil would then appear on the sesame account. There is another possibility, of course, namely, that the 11 1/2 *kotylai* apportioned to Cleandrus on these two days were to cover his needs from Audnaeus 21st to the end of the month. This supposition is not attractive, however, because the result, as figured in *kotylai* per diem, gives a fraction (1 5/23 *kotylai*) which cannot be made to fit into the rationing system employed throughout the account.

The Cornell account is to be regarded as only one of a group of such records of materials assigned from the stores of Apollonius to his retainers. Its nearest extant analogy is the account of linen garments and napkins given out in the years 28 and 29 from the linen stocks of the dioecetes (*P. Cairo Edgar* 77). Zenon was certainly in close touch with the issuing of these stores. Probably he was in direct charge of them. In *P. Cairo Edgar* 77. 3, 4, a linen chiton was assigned to Helenus on Zenon's order; and linen napkins were allotted to Zenon at Crocodilopolis on Gorpiaeus 18th for the reception of some important lady whose name is unfortunately lost (*ibid.* 5-8). In our *kiki* account also (ll. 68, 69) it was Zenon who gave orders that Herophantus be supplied with ἔλαιον (sesame oil) instead of castor oil; and Zenon was likewise the source of the order (ll. 115-117) that additional *kiki* be granted to the record office of Demetrius when an extra force of clerks was taken on in his department. He therefore had some control over the *kiki*, sesame oil and linen stores of Apollonius in year 28 of Philadelphus.

The method of bookkeeping which appears in our account is interesting. On the first of the month of Apellaeus the accountant wrote the name of the person who received each

ration, sometimes adding the name of the bureau which each controlled, and the amount of oil assigned to each person. At the end of the day this was totaled. This total was carried over to the following day, with the notation "to the same (persons)," in case there was no change in the allotment or in case of an addition only. If a deduction were to be made the accountant carried the previous day's total over in his mind, recording the deduction, as follows: "To the same, deducting from that of X so much," then stating the remainder ($\tau\acute{o}$ λοιπόν). Any additions were then recorded and the total obtained for that day by addition. In other words, the total of the first day was made the basis of calculation for the entire month, but in such a manner that the amount assigned for each person or office could easily be calculated for the entire month. The advantage in this was, no doubt, that waste and too great demand could be traced to the responsible individuals and checked. The regulation of the rationing of lamp oil on the estate and the keeping of the oil account began, probably, with Apellaeus 1st of the 28th year. This is suggested by the observation that the method of rationing for the following month, Audnaeus, was so vitally changed that the record was no longer in reality an $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. For the following persons received the entire monthly assignment at one time: Philistus and Menodorus, who receive their lamp oil together; Herophantus; Heraclides the equerry; and Solon, equerry for Amyntas. The change was toward a simplification of the method of rationing, presumably after the experience of the first month. The only increase in the amount assigned occurred in the case of Herophantus, mentioned above.

The peculiarity of the method of reckoning, by deduction first and then addition, becomes clear in the case of Cleandrus (ll. 203-214). Failing to receive his customary sesame ration for his lamp on Audnaeus 21st, he was given 4 *kotylai* of *kiki* on that day. On the following day, the 22nd, this was increased to 7 1/2 *kotylai*. Instead of adding 3 1/2 *kotylai* to the 4 *kotylai* given to Cleandrus on

the previous day, the accountant consistently follows his established system. He deducts the 4 *kotylai* and immediately thereafter (l. 210) adds the full 7 1/2 *kotylai* for Cleandrus.

The most important change to be noted in our present interpretation of the document in comparison with that first presented by Westermann in *Cl. Phil.* arises from the suggestion of H. Idris Bell, supported by that of C. C. Edgar, that the Serapeum mentioned in ll. 80, 88 cannot be placed at Philadelphia, but must surely be the Memphite Serapeum. Cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I 452. This view is now made certain by Edgar's publication of a fragmentary letter from Apollonius to Zenon (*P. Cairo Edgar* 91) which goes to prove that the building of a Serapeum at Philadelphia was not begun until the spring of 256 or 255 s.o. We are, therefore, now convinced that this oil account is not to be connected with the gift estate of Apollonius at Philadelphia. It is one of the records of the expenditures made from the stores of the dioecetes during the period of his travels in ships from Alexandria up and down the Nile during eleven months of the years 28 and 29 (*P. Cairo Edgar* 77 intro.). During the first twenty-eight days of Apellaeus, as the Cornell oil account shows, a large part of the retinue of Apollonius was stopping at Memphis. On Apellaeus 21st, Apollonius ascended before daybreak to the Memphite Serapeum (ll. 79, 80), where he made an offering of bread (*ἄρτοι καθαροί*) baked during the night before by his own baker, Philon (see Wilcken, *loc. cit.*). On Apellaeus 29th the entire group moved on to Berenikes Hormos. Edgar's location of this town, in *P. Cairo Zenon* 80, as "somewhere below (or down stream from) Memphis" is certainly to be accepted as preferable to the attempt of Westermann to locate it within the Fayûm (*Cl. Phil.* XIX 252); and it seems a much more likely location than that suggested by Wilcken (*UPZ* I 452 note 1), who is still tempted to place it either upon the Red Sea, or at least upon the canal called "Ptolemy River," which led from the Bitter Lake to the Nile. Wilcken bases his suggestion upon the fact that Trogodytes appear as

receiving *kiki* on two different occasions. His thought is, evidently, that this group of East Africans would be compelled to come by the Red Sea-Ptolemy River route. In order to place Berenikes Hormos in this, the northeastern part of Egypt, he must assume that the nightly anchoring places on the journey from Memphis to Berenikes Hormos were not noted in this list, but that the man who assigned the *kiki* and kept the record jumped to the end of the journey, Berenikes Hormos, for convenience in his record. Against Wilcken's location it must be argued, with even greater emphasis, that the laborers sent by Nicanor from Syria ($\xi\kappa$ Συρία, l. 224, instead of the original reading, $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ Συρία) would not come via the Red Sea-Ptolemy River route, but by sea via Pelusium and thus directly up the Nile. In view of the evidence, the location of "Berenice's Haven" recently suggested by Edgar seems to be the safer one to follow for the present.

With the change of orientation of this oil account from the estate of Apollonius in the Fayûm to Memphis, and of the location of Berenice's Haven as being outside the Fayûm, the explanation of the Trogodytes, who appear as receiving *kiki* at Berenice's Haven for the ten days Audnaeus 2nd to 11th (ll. 148-180) and for four days at the end of the month (ll. 227-233), becomes less clear. No better suggestion has presented itself to us, however, than that already given in *Cl. Phil.* XIX 250, 251, that they were manual laborers from the Trogodyte region on the east coast of Africa (cf. Wilcken in *Archiv* III 188). In the Zenon expense account PSI 332.14, of the year 29, a Trogodyte laborer appears who is paid one obol per day, which is the regular pay for unskilled labor at that time. The laborers "sent from Syria by Nicanor" (ll. 223, 224) were probably unskilled manual workers also. The change of location noted in our account from the Fayûm estate to Memphis and to a Berenikes Hormos on the Nile likewise places the celebration of the Osiris-Isis festival (ll. 38-45, cf. Wilcken, *UPZ* I 452) and the location of the Heracleum mentioned in ll. 84, 85 at, or near, Memphis. It eliminates

in large degree the attempt made by Westermann in *Cl. Phil.* XIX 252 f. to draw conclusions of an agricultural character from our account, and his surmise, contrary to the view held by Edgar and Rostovtzeff, that Zenon was already in control of the estate at Philadelphia in the year 28.

The chief interest of the document (cf. Wilcken l. c.) lies in the picture which it gives of the pomp and the comfort in which the great dioecetes, Apollonius, travelled throughout Egypt. His entire household accompanied him: his baker; the steward of his table-silver with the silverware; two stables of horses for excursions into the country back of the Nile, with the stablemasters in charge of these; his bath servant; and stores of lighting oil, table linen and linen garments (*P. Cairo Edgar* 77), with servants to look after them. Quite a large flotilla would be required to accommodate these persons and their elaborate equipment, with the half dozen clerical offices and their chiefs and underlings who received the lamp oil here assigned. The oil for the mother of one of the retainers, Herophantus (l. 217), was assigned only for the one night of Audnaeus 23rd. Evidently the lady was making only a temporary visit to her son.

A second point of great importance upon which this Cornell document throws additional light is the complete acceptance by Apollonius and his Greek retinue of the Osiris-Isis festival, a purely Egyptian religious celebration (ll. 37-45). It was a four-day festival, celebrated *officially* by Apollonius and his retainers, in which the fourth day appears as the chief period of the festival (see Westermann, *Cl. Phil.* XIX 254, with corrections by Wilcken, *DPZ* I 452).

In his original publication of this account Westermann assumed that Apollonius was compelled to buy his light oil from the government (*Cl. Phil.* XIX 259). This view is now supported by the publication of *P. Cairo Edgar* 75, an account of the importation from overseas of a large quantity of oil, presumably by order of Apollonius and through his agents. Edgar with some confidence fixes the date, through the content

of five letters drafted on the verso by Zenon, as 259 or 258 B.C. (*Annales* XXIII 87). Marginal notes on the account, which seem to be those of Zenon, indicate that all of this imported oil was sold to the government at 46 drachmas per *metretres*. The government monopoly did not preclude importation, but required importers to sell to the Crown at a fixed price. Westermann's estimate of the cost price for lamp oil as bought by Apollonius from the government (*Cl. Phil.* XIX 260) was 42 drachmas, or 6 drachmas below the retail price to consumers as fixed in the Revenue Papyrus for the year 27. In view of the fact that the imported oil in *P. Cairo Edgar* 75 was sold to the government by Apollonius, or by Zenon as his agent, at 46 drachmas, Westermann's estimated 42 drachmas for the cost price to Apollonius of the lamp oil which his retainers used in the year 28 must be raised.

1st h.	(Ἔτους) κη Ἀπελλαίου ἐφημερίς τοῦ ἀνηλικομένου κίκιος εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν	
α	εἰς τὸ Ἀθηναγόρου	
5	λογιστήριον	κο(τύλη) α
	καὶ εἰς τὸ Δημητρίου	κο(τύλη) α
	εἰς τὸ Διονυσιοδώρου	κο(τύλη) λ
	εἰς τὸ Ἰατροκλέους	
	γραμματεῖον	κο(τύλη) α
10	εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμιδώρου	κο(τύλη) λ
	Φίλωνι εἰς τὸ σιτοποεῖον	κο(τύλη) λ
	Βανναίῳ εἰς τὸ ἀργυρω- ματοφυλάκιον	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
15	Φιλίστῳ καὶ Μηνοδώρῳ	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	Πύρῳ ὥστε τοῖς ταμι- ευτικοῖς βυβλίοις	κο(τύλη) ἡ
	Ἡροφάντῳ	κο(τύλη) ἡ
	Ἡρακλείδῃ ἱπποκόμῳ	
20	εἰς τοὺς ἵππους	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)

		Σόλωνι εἰς τοὺς Ἀμύντου	
		ἵππους	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
		Εὐβούλῳ	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
		(γίνεται) τῆς ἡμέρας	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
2nd h.	β̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	γ̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	δ̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	ε̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
1st h.	ς̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
30		Φίλωνι σιτοποιῶι ὥστε εἰς τὸν	
		ἐτοιμαζόμενον σῖτον εἰς τὴν	
		ἐορτήν	κο(τύλη) ᾱ
		(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ζ̄ τέ(ταρτον)
	ζ̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ζ̄ τέ(ταρτον)
35		καὶ τὸ προστεθὲν Φίλωνι	κο(τύλη) α (γίνεται) κο-
			(τύλαι) η τέ(ταρτον)
	η̄	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλη) η τέ(ταρτον)
	θ̄	Ἰσιεῖοις	
		ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ διδομένου	
		εἰς τὰ Ἀθηναγόρου καὶ Δημητρίου	
40		καὶ Διονυσοδώρου λογιστήριον	
		καὶ τοῦ Ἱατροκλέους γραμμα-	
		τείου ἡμικοτυλίου, τοῖς λοιποῖς	
		κο(τύλαι) γ τέ(ταρτον)	
		καὶ Ἐλένῳ ἐπὶ λύχνον	
45		κο(τύλαι) η, (γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ια τέ(ταρτον)
	ι	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου	
		ἀπὸ τοῦ διδομένου Ἐλένῳ	
		ἐπὶ λύχνον κοτυλῶν τριῶν	
		τὸ λοιπὸν	κο(τύλαι) η τέ(ταρτον)
50		καὶ τὸ προσαποδοθὲν εἰς τὸ	
		Ἱατροκλέους γραμματεῖον	κο(τύλη) λ
		(γίνεται) κο(τύλαι)	η λ τέ(ταρτον)
	ιᾱ	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου δὲ	
		ἀπ(ὸ) τῆς Ἐλένου ταγῆς	
55		κοτύλης ᾱ τὸ λοιπὸν	κο(τύλαι) ζ̄ λ τέ(ταρτον)

	καὶ ἐπιθῇ εἰς τὸ Ἀθηναγόρου	
	καὶ Δημητρίου λογιστήριον	κο(τύλαι) β̄
	καὶ εἰς τὸ Διονυσοδώρου	κο(τύλη) λ
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ι τέ(ταρτον)
60	ιβ̄ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου	
	τοῦ Ἑλένῳ διδομένου τοῖς	
	λοιποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	ιγ̄ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	ιδ̄ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
65	ιε̄ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς τέ(ταρτον)
	ις τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ	
	δ[ιδο]μένου ἐπὶ λύχνον Ἡροφάντῳ	
	καὶ διὰ τὸ διδόσθαι αὐτῷ ἔλαιον	
	Ζήνωνος συντάξαντος τοῖς	
70	λο[ι]ποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	ιζ̄ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	ιη̄ τ[οῖς] α]ύτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	ιθ̄ τ[οῖς] αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	καὶ [......]νου ἀναγγεῖλαν[τος]	
75	χο(τύλαι) [ε] (γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ια ή
	κ̄ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	κᾱ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	Ἑλένῳ ἐπὶ λαμπτήρα ὄρθρου	
	ἀναβαίνοντος Ἀπολλωνίου	
80	εἰς τὸ Σαραπιδεῖον	κο(τύλαι) β
	φίλῳνι εἰς τὸν πεσσόμενον	
	σίτον ἐπ(ι) νυκτῶν ὥστε εἰς τὸ	
	Σαραπιδεῖον	κο(τύλη) α
	Ἑλένῳ ἐπὶ λύχνους καὶ	
85	λαμπτήρα ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ	κο(τύλαι) θ
	γίνεται) χο(ῦς) α	κο(τύλαι) ς ή
	κβ̄ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου	
	τοῦ ἐπανηλωθέντος	
	ἐπὶ λαμπτήρα καὶ λύχνον	
90	καὶ τοῦ δοθέντος φίλῳνι	
	τοῖς λοιποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ή

	$\overline{\kappa\gamma}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\delta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
95		εἰς τὸ Δημητρίου λογιστήριον προσγενομένοις τοῖς παρὰ Διοσκουρίδου γραμματεῦσιν καὶ σ[υ]γκαθημένοις τὴν νύκτα ἐπὶ λύχνον	κο(τύλαι) β̄
100		(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) η ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\zeta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος εἰς τὸ λο- γιστήριον τοῖς [λο]ιποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
105		Γλαύκη Δίσκου ἀναγγείλαντος ἐπ(ι) λύχνον	κο(τύλαι) γ̄
		(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) θ ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\eta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος Γλαύκη	
110		τὸ λοιπὸν	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\theta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\theta}$	ἐπὶ τοῦ Βερενίκης Ὀρμου τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
	$\overline{\lambda}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ς ἡ
115		καὶ τὸ δοθὲν Ζήνωνος συντάξ(αντος) τοῖς παρὰ Διοσκουρίδου γραμματεῦσι εἰς τὸ Δημητρίου λογιστήριον	κο(τύλη) λ
		(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ς λ ἡ
		Αὐδναίου	
120		ἐπὶ τοῦ Βερενίκης Ὀρμου	
	$\overline{\alpha}$	εἰς τὸ Ἀθηναγόρου λογιστήριον	κο(τύλη) α
		εἰς τὸ Δημητρίου σὺν τῷ διδομένῳ εἰς τοὺς	
125		Διοσκουρίδου γραμματέας)	κο(τύλαι) α λ
		εἰς τὸ Διονυσοδώρου	κο(τύλη) λ
		εἰς τὸ Ἰατροκλέους ἐπιστολογραφεῖον	κο(τύλη) α

	ε[ίς] τὸ 'Αρτεμιδώρου	κο(τύλη) ∟
	Φίλωνι εἰς τὸ σιτοποεῖον	κο(τύλη) ∟
130	Βανναίωι εἰς τὸ ἀργυρω- ματοφυλάκιον	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	εἰς τὸ ταμιεῖον	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	Φιλίστῳι Μηνοδώρῳι	
	εἰς τὸμ μῆνα	κο(τύλαι) ζ ∟
135	Πύρῳι ὥστε πρὸς τοῖς βυβλίοις	κο(τύλη) ή
	'Ηροφάντῳι ἐπὶ λύχνον	
	εἰς τὸμ μῆνα	κο(τύλαι) ζ ∟
	'Ηρακλείδῳι ἱπποκόμῳι	
140	ἐπὶ λύχνον τοῖς ἵπποις	κο(τύλαι) ζ ∟
	Σόλῳι εἰς τοὺς 'Αμύντου	
	ἵππους ἐπὶ λύχνον	κο(τύλαι) ζ ∟
	Εὐβούλῳι εἰς λουτρῶνα	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	(γίνεται) εἰς τὸμ μῆνα	χό(ες) β ∟
145	καὶ εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν	
	κο(τύλαι) δ ∟ τέ(ταρτον) ή	
β	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) δ ∟ τέ(ταρτον) ή
	καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐπὶ λύχνον	
	τοῖς Τρωγοδύταις	κο(τύλη) ή
150	Γιβάλῳι εἰς τὸ ἐπιστολα- γραφῖον διὰ τὸ τὴν νύκτα βρέχειν	κο(τύλη) ∟
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε ∟
γ	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου	
155	τοῦ δοθέντος εἰς τὸ ἐπισ- τολαγραφῖον τοῖς λοιποῖς	
	κο(τύλαι) ε	
δ	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
ε	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
160	'Ιωάνῳι ἐπὶ λαμπτήρα	
	Ζήνωνι	κο(τύλη) ∟
	καὶ 'Εφέσῳι	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον)
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε ∟ τέ(ταρτον)

	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρου-	
165	μένου τοῦ δοθέν-	
	τος Ἰωάναι ἐπὶ λαμ-	
	πτήρα καὶ Ἐφέσῳ	
	τοῖς λοιποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
	καὶ τὸ προσδοθὲν ἐπὶ	
170	τὸν λύχνον τὸν	
	πρὸς τοῖς βυβλίοις	κο(τύλη) ἡ
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
175	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	[τοῖς] [αὐ]τοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου	
	τοῦ δοθέντος ἐπὶ λύχνον	
180	τοῖς Τρωγοδύταις	κο(τύλη) ἡ
	τὸ λοιπὸν	κο(τύλαι) ε
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε
185	Ἡρακλείδῃ ἱπποκόμῳ	
	ἐπὶ λύχνον τοῖς ἵπποις	
	διὰ τὸ γραστίζεσθαι	κο(τύλη) ἡ
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
190	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	[ι]η τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	ιθ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	κ τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
	Βανναίῳ ἐπὶ λύχνον ἐκτρίβοντι	
195	τὰ ἀργυρῶμ[α]τα	κο(τύλη) λ
	Φίλωνι σιτοποιῶι εἰς τὸν ἐργαζό-	
	μεν[ο]ν σῖτον πρὸς τῇι τρ(απέζηι) τῇι	
	Ἄγας	κο(τύλη) λ
	(γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ

200	$\overline{\kappa\alpha}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος Βανναίῳ καὶ Φίλωνι τοῖς λοιποῖς Κλεάνδρῳ ἐπὶ λύχνον διὰ τὸ ἔλαιον μὴ εἶλη-	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
205		φέναι (γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) $\overline{\delta}$ κο(τύλαι) θ ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\beta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος Κλεάνδρῳ τοῖς λοιποῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
210		Κλεάνδρῳ ἐπὶ λύχνον (γίνεται) χο(ῦς) α	κο(τύλαι) $\overline{\zeta}$ \angle κο(τύλη) \angle ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\gamma}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡ αφ..... ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος Κλεάνδρῳ τοῖς λοιποῖς	
215		κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ Ὀλυμπιχῶι ὥστε τῇι Ἡροφάντου μητρὶ (γίνεται)	κο(τύλη) \angle κο(τύλαι) ε \angle ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\delta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀφαιρουμένου τοῦ δοθέντος Ὀλυμπιχῶι τὸ λοιπὸν	κο(τύλαι) ε ἡ
220		καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐπὶ λύχνον τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖσι σώμασιν ἐκ Συρίας ὑπὸ Νικάνορος (γίνεται)	κο(τύλη) τέ(ταρτον) κο(τύλαι) ε τέ(ταρτον) ἡ
225	$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε τέ(ταρτον) ἡ
	$\overline{\kappa\zeta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς Τρωγοδύταις ἐπὶ λύχνον (γίνεται)	κο(τύλαι) ε τέ(ταρτον) ἡ κο(τύλη) ἡ
230		κο(τύλαι) ε \angle	
	$\overline{\kappa\eta}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε \angle
	$\overline{\lambda}$	τοῖς αὐτοῖς	κο(τύλαι) ε \angle

Year 28. Apellaeus. Daybook of the kiki (castor oil)
expended for daily disbursement.

1st. For the accounting office of Athenagoras,	1	kotyle
And for that of Demetrius,	1	kotyle
For that of Dionysodorus,		1/2 kotyle
For the scribe's office of Iatrocles,	1	kotyle
For that of Artemidorus,		1/2 kotyle
To Philon for the bakery,		1/2 kotyle
To Bannaeus for the storeroom for the silverware,		1/4 kotyle
For the steward's storeroom,		1/4 kotyle
To Philistus and Menodorus,		1/4 kotyle
To Pyron, designated for the steward's records,		1/8 kotyle
To Herophantus,		1/8 kotyle
To Heraclides, stable man, for the horses,		1/4 kotyle
To Solon for the horses of Amyntas,		1/4 kotyle
To Eubulus,		1/4 kotyle
Total for the day,	6	1 1/4 kotylai

2nd hand.

2nd. To the same,	6	1 1/4 kotylai
3rd. To the same,	6	1 1/4 kotylai
4th. To the same,	6	1 1/4 kotylai
5th. To the same,	6	1 1/4 kotylai

1st hand.

6th. To the same,	6	1 1/4 kotylai
To Philon the baker, designated for the man preparing food for the festival,	1	kotyle, total 7 1/4 kotylai
7th. To the same,	7	1 1/4 kotylai,
and that added for Philon,	1	kotyle, total 8 1/4 kotylai
8th. To the same,	8	1 1/4 kotylai

9th. For the Isis festivals

Deducting that given to the record
offices of Athenagoras and
Demetrius and Dionysodorus and
the half-kotyle of the scribe's
office of Iatrocles—to the rest,

9 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai,

and to Helenus for hand lamp,

8 kotylai,

total 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

10th. To the same, deducting three kotylai
from the amount given to Helenus
for hand lamp—remainder 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
kotylai, and that reassigned for
the scribe's office of Iatrocles,

$\frac{1}{2}$ kotyle,

total 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ kotylai

11th. To the same, but deducting one kotyle
from the assignment of Helenus—
remainder 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ kotylai, and
there has been added for the
record offices of Athenagoras
and Demetrius, 2 kotylai,
and for that of Dionysodorus,

$\frac{1}{2}$ kotyle,

total 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

12th. To the same, deducting that given to
Helenus, to the rest,

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

13th. To the same,

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

14th. To the same,

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

15th. To the same,

6 $\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai

16th. To the same, deducting that given for
hand lamp to Herophantus and
because sesame oil was given him
on Zenon's order, to the rest,

6 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

17th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
18th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
19th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
	To C . . . , . . . nus having brought a message,	5 kotylai,
		total 11 1/8 kotylai
20th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
21st.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
	To Helenus for torch lamp, Apol- lonius going up before daybreak into the Serapeum,	2 kotylai
	To Philon for the man cooking food by night destined for the Serapeum,	1 kotyle
	To Helenus for hand lamps and torch lamp in the Heracleum,	9 kotylai,
		total 1 chous, 6 1/8 kotylai
22nd.	To the same, deducting that ex- pended for the torch lamp and hand lamp and that given to Philon, to the rest,	6 1/8 kotylai
23rd.	To the same.	6 1/8 kotylai
24th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai
25th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai,
	For the record office of Deme- trius, to the scribes added from Dioscurides and sitting with them ¹ during the night, for hand lamp,	2 kotylai,
		total 8 1/8 kotylai

¹ That is, sitting with the scribes of Demetrius' office.

26th.	To the same, deducting that given for the record office, ¹ to the rest,	6 1/8 kotylai	
	To Glaucæ, Discus having brought a message, for hand lamp, 3	kotylai,	
			total 9 1/8 kotylai
27th.	To the same, deducting that given to Glaucæ, remainder	6 1/8 kotylai	
28th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai	
29th.	At Berenice's Haven, To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai	
30th.	To the same,	6 1/8 kotylai,	
	And that given on Zenon's order to the scribes from Dioscurides for the record office of Deme- trius,	1/2 kotyle,	
			total 6 5/8 kotylai
Audnaeus.			
At Berenice's Haven.			
1st.	For the record office of Athena- goras,	1	kotyle
	For that of Demetrius with the oil given to the scribes of Dioscurides,	1 1/2	kotylai
	For that of Dionysodorus,	1/2	kotyle
	For the letter office of Iatro- cles,	1	kotyle
	For that of Artemidorus,	1/2	kotyle
	To Philon for the bakery,	1/2	kotyle
	To Bannaëus for the storeroom for the silverware,	1/4	kotyle

¹ Only the extra 2 kotylai are meant, which were granted for the scribes who were sent over by Dioscurides to Demetrius' office. The regular assignment to Demetrius' record office continues.

For the steward's storeroom,	1/4 kotyle
To Philistus (and) Menodorus, for the month,	7 1/2 kotylai
To Pyron, designated for the records,	1/8 kotyle
To Herophantus for hand lamp, for the month,	7 1/2 kotylai
To Heraclides, stable man, for hand lamp for the horses,	7 1/2 kotylai
To Solon for the horses of Amyntas for hand lamp,	7 1/2 kotylai
To Eubulus for bathroom,	1/4 kotyle
Total, for the month,	2 1/2 choes
And for the daily assignments,	4 7/8 kotylai
2nd. To the same,	4 7/8 kotylai,
And that given for hand lamp to the Trogodytes,	1/8 kotyle,
To Gibalus for the letter office because it rained during the night,	1/2 kotyle,
	total 5 1/2 kotylai
3rd. To the same, deducting that given for the letter office, to the rest,	5 kotylai
4th. To the same,	5 kotylai
5th. To the same,	5 kotylai,
To Johanna for torch lamp for Zenon,	1/2 kotyle,
And to Ephesus,	1/4 kotyle,
	total 5 3/4 kotylai
6th. To the same, deducting that given to Johanna for torch lamp and (that) to Ephesus, to the rest,	5 kotylai,

And that given in addition for
the hand lamp, the one for the
books,¹

$\frac{1}{8}$ kotyle,

total 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

7th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

8th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

9th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

10th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

11th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

12th. To the same, deducting that given
for hand lamp to the Trogodytes,

$\frac{1}{8}$ kotyle,

remainder 5 kotylai

13th. To the same, 5 kotylai

14th. To the same, 5 kotylai

15th. To the same, 5 kotylai,

To Heraclides, stable man, for
hand lamp for the horses because
they were being sent out to
graze,

$\frac{1}{8}$ kotyle,

total 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

16th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

17th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

18th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

19th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

20th. To the same, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai,

To Bannaeus for hand lamp, clean-
ing the silverware,

$\frac{1}{2}$ kotyle,

To Philon, baker, for the man
making bread at the bread board
of Ana,

$\frac{1}{2}$ kotyle,

total 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ kotylai

¹Evidently the addition is for Pyron's account, ll. 135,
136.

- 21st. To the same, deducting that given
to Bannaëus and to Philon, to
the rest, $5 \frac{1}{8}$ kotylai,
To Cleandrus for hand lamp be-
cause he did not receive sesame
oil, 4 kotylai,
total $9 \frac{1}{8}$ kotylai
- 22nd. To the same, deducting that given
to Cleandrus, to the rest, $5 \frac{1}{8}$ kotylai,
To Cleandrus for hand lamp,
 $7 \frac{1}{2}$ kotylai,
total 1 chous, $5/8$ kotyle
- 23rd. To the same, deducting that given
to Cleandrus, to the rest, $5 \frac{1}{8}$ kotylai,
To Olympichus, designated for
the mother of Herophantus, $1/2$ kotyle,
total $5 \frac{5}{8}$ kotylai
- 24th. To the same, deducting that given
to Olympichus, remainder, $5 \frac{1}{8}$ kotylai,
And that given for hand lamp to
the laborers sent away from Syria
by Nicanor, $1/4$ kotyle,
total $5 \frac{9}{8}$ kotylai
- 25th. To the same, $5 \frac{3}{8}$ kotylai
- 26th. To the same, $5 \frac{3}{8}$ kotylai,
And to the Trogodytes for hand
lamp, $1/8$ kotyle,
total $5 \frac{1}{2}$ kotylai
- 27th. To the same, $5 \frac{1}{2}$ kotylai
- 28th. To the same, $5 \frac{1}{2}$ kotylai
- 30th.¹ To the same, $5 \frac{1}{2}$ kotylai

¹ The entry for the 29th is lacking.

1. There are possible traces of two letters at the end of this line. Perhaps the reading should be 'Απελλαίου..; but we cannot see what these letters would represent.

3. εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν. Supply τάγμα. See ταγῆς in l. 54.

12. Bannaesus, as we now know from *P. Cairo Edgar* 77.20-21 and 25-26, had linen napkins assigned to him from Apollonius' stores in the year 29.

13. The perpendicular diacritical mark over the fractional η is found here, as frequently, though not consistently, in this account.

15. The ending ω in Φιλίστωι and Μηνοδῶρῳ looks decidedly like α , but is quite clearly ω in l. 133.

21. To the references for Amyntas given in *Cl. Phil.* XIX 238 add his three letters to Zenon, *P. Cairo Edgar* 80-82.

25. The second hand is not readily distinguishable from the first; but the difference in the forms of the numbers and the abbreviation for κοτύλαι is marked. The initial τ in the entries of Apellaeus 2nd to 5th carries its downstroke considerably lower than is the case in the first hand.

40. λογιστήριον is a mistake of the scribe for λογιστήρια. The $\tau\alpha$ of l. 39 is clear.

38-43. Edgar has suggested that the second extra kotyle granted to Philon the baker in l. 35 is a mistake of the scribe. It is still our opinion that to Philon's regular allotment of $1/2$ kotyle (l. 11) an additional whole kotyle was added on the 6th for night work in the bakery in preparation for the festival, and still another additional kotyle on the 7th, making his total for that and the following day and night $2\frac{1}{2}$ kotylai. The recorded subtractions made on the 9th from the total of $8\frac{1}{4}$ kotylai of the 8th are $2\frac{1}{2}$ kotylai for the three record offices and $1/2$ kotyle from the scribe's office of Iatrocles, total deduction 3 kotylai. Without mention of the fact, the extra 2 kotylai granted to the bakery from the 6th are also subtracted, which gives the remainder $3\frac{1}{4}$ of l. 43.

44. Identification of this Helenus, who appears also in ll. 54, 61, 78, 84, with the "Ἐλενος Αἰθίοψ" of PSI 503.4-5 (year 29), was suggested by Westermann in *Cl. Phil.* XIX 241. Identification has now become fairly certain because of the appearance of Helenus an "Aethiopian" along with Zenon at a town called Nikiou seven months later than the time of his presence with Zenon in our account. See *P. Cairo Edgar* 77.2-4.

68. ἔλαιον here is sesame oil, as in the Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy Philadelphus when coupled with kiki. *P. Rev.* p. 131.

74. Comparison with l. 105 shows that there were two proper names here, the first in the dative, the second ending in $\nu\omicron\upsilon$. The break allows for seven or eight letters. The only proper name of our document which ends in $\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is that of "Ἐλενος. Κλε[άνδρωι: 'Ελέ]νου (of. ll. 203, 208, 210, 214) cannot be read because the space will not permit.

The number of *kotylai* here is determined by the total in the next line. Both here and in the similar entry of oil for a message carrier, ll. 105, 106, the amount of oil is noticeably large. This was presumably the oil required for the return trip of the messenger. It implies that letter-carrying was done by night, with lamp or torch.

78. The correct reading $\delta\rho\theta\rho\upsilon$, instead of $\text{"}\delta\rho\theta\rho\upsilon$ as a proper name, was pointed out to us by C. C. Edgar. Cf. *UPZ* I 452.

79, 80. The Serapeum near Memphis was situated back of the desert's edge. For the position of the small sanctuary of the Hellenistic Serapis at Memphis in the western building complex of "the great Serapeum," cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* VI 191, and more fully, *UPZ* I 14-18. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ is used for those descending from the Serapis sanctuary at Memphis to the precinct of Anubis.

81-83. For night work in the bakery in preparing the offerings for the Osiris-Isis festival Philon received an extra *kotyle* on Apellaeus 6th and two *kotylai* on the 7th and 8th, ll. 35-43, and note to ll. 38-43. For the abbreviation $\epsilon\pi(\iota)\ \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau\iota\delta\nu$, l. 82, cf. $\epsilon\pi(\iota)\ \lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\nu\upsilon\nu$, l. 106.

86. In the abbreviation $\chi\omicron(\upsilon\varsigma)$ the numeral is written directly over the χ .

134. $\tau\omicron\mu\ \mu\eta\nu\alpha$. The assimilation is customary throughout the account. Cf. *P. Hib.* 110, col. III. 46, dated about 255 B. C.

146. Only the upper tips of the numerals appear in this line above a break in the papyrus, but enough to make sure that the readings $1/2$, $1/4$ and $1/8$ are correct. The difficulty is that the total for the daily expenditure of oil taken over to the 2nd of Audnaeus (l. 147) is $4\ 1/2\ 1/4\ 1/8$, whereas the total of the expenditures $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\ \tau\omicron\theta\ \eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu$ for the 1st of Audnaeus is actually $5\ 1/2\ 1/4\ 1/8$. The tip of the first numeral clearly indicates a δ rather than an ϵ . Added to this is the fact that the accountant *always* carried over the exact total of one day as the basis of the report for the following day, and the reading of Audnaeus 2nd is $4\ 1/2\ 1/4\ 1/8$. The accountant evidently made an error in adding the total of the daily rations of Audnaeus 1st, confused by the complexity of separating his monthly doles from the daily ones. In this case his account was 1 *kotyle* short of the actual disbursement for all the remaining days of the month. The edges of the break show that the lacuna occurred accidentally and was not an intended excision from the account.

149. For the spelling $\tau\rho\omega\gamma\omicron\delta\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ see Wilcken's republication of *P. Oxy.* I 36 in *Archiv* III 185 ff.; Sudhoff, *Ärztliches* 50; Mayser, *Grammatik* 187. Hunt called our attention to the appearance of the Trogodyte laborer in *PSI* 332. 14, an expense account of the Zenon archive of the year 29. See Vitelli's valuable note thereto.

M. Schnebel of Munich and C. C. Edgar have both called our attention to the error made by Westermann in *Cl. Phil.* in transposing the dates which appear in the Cornell oil account into the corresponding dates of the Gregorian calendar. The transposition Apellaeus 1-Audnaeus 30=Athyr 12-Tybi 10 (*ibid.* 248) for the year 28 should be January 5-March 4, 256 B.C. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 1v; Kubitschek s. v. *Aera* in Pauly-Wissowa I 659 ff.; and Meyer, *Chron.*, p. 79, whose chronological reconstruction we have followed.

151, 152. The translation "because it rained during the night" is that suggested by Edgar, who informs us that it frequently rains in Lower Egypt at that time of the year. His idea is that the rain may have come through into one of the offices and a light have been needed in repairing the damage.

187. Heraclides the equerry had received his full quota of oil for the month on Audnaeus 1st (ll. 139, 140). Beginning with Audnaeus 15th he received an extra 1/8 *katyle* for some reason connected with the fact that the horses are sent out from the ships to graze, διὰ τὸ γρασίζεισθαι. This additional grant of light oil continued throughout the remaining days of Audnaeus, as there is no deduction indicating that it had ceased. γράσις in PSI 351.6 is "grazing land," contrasted with πυρίνη, land planted to wheat, in the following line. For γράσις as "hay payment" see *P. Hamb.* 39.

198. We read Ἀνας, with the possibility that Ἀλας is correct. The first α and the final ς are certain. The name Ala is not known to us in the papyri and is not listed in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*. The name Ἀνα is cited by Dr. Enno Littmann in the *Anhang* to Preisigke's book (p. 520) among the Coptic names appearing in the papyri. As noted in the introduction, Edgar surmises that this may be that one of the two Semitic slave girls bought by Philon (*P. Cairo Edgar* 65. 48, 49, παιδίσκης Α.αλ[...μ.] whose name began with A, and that she was used by him in the bakery. See the translation, in which we follow Edgar's supposition.

226. Zenon was certainly at Berenice's Haven in person on this day. See *P. Cairo Edgar* 80, verso, where Zenon notes the date of reception of a letter from Amyntas as (ἔτους) κη, Αὐδναίου κε, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρμου.

232, 233. There is no entry for the 29th of Audnaeus, the Macedonian months having 29 and 30 days respectively, odd and even. See Meyer, *Chron.*, p. 3, and Wilcken, *UPZ* I 451, note 1, upon Westermann, *Cl. Phil.* XIX 237. It is to be noted that the keeper of the *kiki* stores made his total assignments of oil "for the month," in the cases of Philistus and Menodorus, of Herophantus, of Heraclides, and of Solon (ll. 133, 134, 137-142) on the basis of a thirty-day month.

2. CONTRACT OF LOAN MADE BY ZENON

Philadelphia

5 1/4 x 3 1/4 in.

248 B. C.

Of the original document the entire lower half is gone, and even the part preserved is only a fragment consisting of about one half of the upper portion of the complete document. It is a contract of loan made by Zenon, son of Agreiofon, in the year 36 of Philadelphus, to Democles of Heraclea, a hundred-aroura holder. The contract was made out in duplicate, the scribe's hand being the same throughout except that in the lower text the letters are larger and much more carefully and legibly written than those in the upper text, and the spacing between the lines is somewhat greater. Only the letter *v* differs in the two texts; but the scribe used four markedly different forms of *v* in the upper copy. It is the most carefully formed and regular of these which appears consistently in the five preserved cases of its use in the lower text. For the development of these documents written in duplicate see P. 11778 of the Berlin collection published by Ernst Schönbauer in *Z. Sav.-St.* XXXIX (1918) 224 ff., with the careful discussion which accompanies it.

Of the lines of the upper text which can be restored with almost complete certainty the missing and preserved letters stand in the following relation: l. 1, missing 26, preserved 26; l. 2, missing 27, preserved 26; l. 3, missing 26, preserved 27; l. 8, missing 26, preserved 31. Judging by the remains of the lower text and assuming that the size of the letters remained approximately constant, we should have to allow for twenty lines as against the fifteen of the upper copy. The difference in size of letters is therefore about the same as in the Berlin papyrus published by Schönbauer, where the relation of lines used is twelve for the upper copy (the duplicate according to Schönbauer) as against eighteen

of the lower text. Schonbauer inclines to the belief that in the loan of 215-214 B.C. which he published, the upper or duplicate text was written after the lower one. There is nothing apparent in the spacing in our document which either supports or discredits his assumption.

The amount of the loan was 20 or between 20 and 30 drachmas, repayment to be made in 40 artabae of grain, presumably wheat, at the village of Pharbaithus in Payni of the following year. The period of the loan is fifteen months, enabling the borrower to repay in Payni, which would fall at the end of the summer, after the harvesting of his grain crop of the 37th year. The borrower's need for the money is not clear; but the date of the loan, Pharmouthi 19th or 29th (month of June at this period) suggests the possibility that Democles required it for the purpose of moving his crop of the year 36. Compare the date of Zenon's loan of money to nine Egyptian peasants for purchase of donkeys, *P. Cairo Edgar 36*. The loan was made on Pharmouthi 2nd and repayment was to be exacted when the rent was paid (l. 9); or, failing repayment at that time, Zenon was to receive in return a donkey in good condition,¹ on Pachon 30th at the latest. Edgar's original suggestion that this loan was made for the purpose of enabling the peasants to move their crops has become a certainty through the discovery of the fragments of a duplicate of the contract (see *P. Cairo Edgar 36(a)* printed with no. 49).

Democles, son of Lyson, appears in *P. Petrie III 109* col. IV as paying the dyke, salt, pasture and guard taxes in the 36th year, the year of the present contract. The Heraclea of which he was a native was probably a town of that name in Caria, preferably 'Ἡράκλεια Σαλβάκη, or possibly 'Ἡράκλεια ἡ ὑπὸ Ἀάτμῳ which lay on the border of Caria. The preference of a Carian location for the city over Heraclea of the Arsinoite nome depends upon the consideration that a number

¹Not "the best of the donkeys" as Rostovtzeff has it in his *Large Estate*, p. 122.

of the Greeks about Zenon, as well as Zenon himself, were Carians. See the "Carian nest" of Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate*, p. 178.

The activities of Zenon as a money-lender were briefly mentioned by Rostovtzeff (*ibid.* p. 182). Our present knowledge of loans made or handled by Zenon includes, in addition to the document here presented, four others of the reign of Philadelphus: *P. Cairo Edgār* 65, year 28; *P. Cairo Edgār* 36 and 36(a), year 31; *PSI* 369, year 36; and *P. Lond. Inv. No. 2344* (unpublished, but mentioned by H. I. Bell in *Archiv* VII 17), year 38. There are three loans from the reign of Euergetes: *P. Cairo Edgār* 58, year 4 (? the loan was made in year 3); *PSI* 389, year 5; and *PSI* 392, year 6. Two more loans are undated, *PSI* 529 and 532. In the first period, to the time of the disappearance of Apollonius the dioecetes, one must attempt to distinguish between the two possibilities, of loans made by Zenon as agent of Apollonius upon the Philadelphia estate, and those made by Zenon as a private individual who was rapidly accumulating wealth and using it for his personal gain. The loan of 84 drachmas in copper (*P. Cairo Edgār* 36, 36(a): dated year 31, Pharmouthi 2, i. e. late in May), to the nine Egyptian peasants for the purpose of moving their crops is really an advance, rather than a loan, made on the account of the estate of Apollonius by Zenon as agent: ἐδάνεισεν Ζήνων . . . [τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλῳ]νιον τὸν δι[ο]ικη[τὴν] . . . ἐν ταῖς (μυρίαις) (ἀρούραις) τ[αῖς] ἐν Φιλ[αδελφείᾳ] δεδομέναις ἐν δωρεᾷ Ἀ[πολλωνίῳ] ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, *P. Cairo Edgār* 36.3, and 36(a).1-3. The advance is for a few weeks only and is without interest, since the peasants are to pay back the price of the donkey when they pay the rent. We judge that such small loans were typical of the agricultural life of the time, since Zenon was dealing with hundreds of these peasants who had no small reserves of capital whatever. It was requisite, therefore, that the estate owner should be ready and willing to advance such loans as would be necessary; and it would be to the economic advantage of the big proprietor, in this case the dioecetes Apollonius,

to make them. For that reason this small advance was made *without interest charge*, on the security of the donkeys bought by the peasants. It is clear that the estate did not furnish the donkeys to the peasants, but that the farmers were expected to own them as part of their farm equipment. These nine farmers were to buy the animals in the open market.

In PSI 369 Zenon again appears to be acting in his capacity of agent or manager. The document is a letter of Dorion to Zenon, giving the terms and securities upon the following loans:

AMOUNT	BORROWER	TERM	INTEREST
600 dr. silver	Charmus	2 yrs. 11 mos.	(lost)
600 dr. silver	Petalis	1 yr. 5 mos.	(lost)
300 dr. silver	Callon	1 yr. 5 mos.	(lost)

There is a further request made to Zenon by the writer, Dorion, that Zenon should see to it that Sostratus would send back to Dorion 32 drachmas in silver which Sostratus had obtained at a bank for one Dionysius. As Sostratus and Dionysius are known to us as men connected with the estate of Apollonius, and as Dorion writes to Zenon as an equal dealing with the affairs of a third party, the chances are that these loans are of the estate itself, made in behalf of Apollonius. At least it is by no means clear that these are personal affairs of Zenon.

Eliminating this loan and the two small advances made to the peasants on the account of the estate, the personal loans of Zenon still seem important, when one considers the possibility that they are typical of a great deal more of such business transacted by him. In the following table we include requests for loans made to Zenon, even when there is no proof that they were granted.¹

¹The transaction recorded in *P. Cairo Edgar 58* between Heraclides and Zenon is not included because it does not seem to have been a loan in the strict sense. Apparently it was an accommodation between equals, in the course of which the confidence of Zenon, as he claimed, was abused to the tune of about 60 drachmas copper.

	AMOUNT	BORROWER	TERM	INTEREST
<i>P. Cairo Ed- gar 65, 66</i>	900 dr. silver	Philon	Indefinite	o. 25 %
<i>P. Corn. 2</i>	20 (?) dr. silver	Democles	1 yr. 2 mo.	?
<i>PSI 389</i>	150 dr. silver	Nicoandrus	—	16 2/3 %?
<i>PSI 392</i>	Indefinite	Hermoorates	—	100 %
<i>PSI 529</i>	62 dr. copper	Nomus	3 yrs.	—
<i>PSI 532</i>	12 art. wheat, 16 art. barley- wheat	Thamoys	—	—

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Π]τολεμαίου Σωτῆρος ἔτους
ἐκ τοῦ

[καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἐπαινέ]του τοῦ Ἐπαινέτου
'Αλεξάνδρου καὶ

[θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου Ἀρσινό]ης Φιλαδέλφου Ἐχειτίμης
τῆς Μεν-

[νέου μηνός about 18 letters]ηι Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Φαρμοῦθι
ἐνάτηι

5 [about 20 letters ὁμολογ]εῖ Δημοκλῆς Λύσωνος Ἡράκλειος
τῶν

[..... ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινοίτῃ] νομῷ ἑκατοντάρουρος ἐκ κώ-
[μης about 16 letters ἔχειν πα]ρὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἀγρειο-
φώντος

[Καυνίου τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ]ν διοικητὴν ἀργυρίου
δραχμὰς εἴκοσι

[about 23 letters ἀργ]υρίου τούτου εἰς ὅτον ἐν Φαρβαί-
10 [θοῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἀποδώσει (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας)] τεσσαρά-
κοντα μέτρω[ι] δοχικῶι

[about 21 letters ἐν μ]ηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐβδ[όμ]ῳ καὶ
[τριακοστῷ ἔτει. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπο]δῷ ἐν τῷ γεγραμμένῳ
χρόνῳ ἀπο-

[τισάτω τῷ Ζήνωνι τὴν τιμ]ὴν ἐκάστης ἀρτάβης δραχμὰς
[δύο καὶ ἡ πράξις ἔστω Ζήνων]ι καὶ τῷ τὸ σύμβολον ἐπιφέ-

15 [ροντι ὑπὲρ Ζήνωνος. μάρτυρες.]

Blank space equivalent to about 10 lines

[Βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος
 [ἔτους ἑκτοῦ καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἐφ' ἰ]ερέως Ἐπαινέτου τοῦ [Ἐπ-
 [αινέτου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θε]ῶν Ἀδελφῶν κανηφόρου
 [Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἐχειτίμης] τῆς Μεννέου .[....]

Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος
 ἔτους ἑκτοῦ καὶ τριακοστοῦ
 ἐφ' ἰερέως Ἐπαινέτου τοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν
 κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου
 Ἐχειτίμης τῆς Μεννέου
 Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος
 ἔτους ἑκτοῦ καὶ τριακοστοῦ
 ἐφ' ἰερέως Ἐπαινέτου τοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν
 κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου
 Ἐχειτίμης τῆς Μεννέου
 Πτολεμαίου Σωτῆρος
 ἔτους ἑκτοῦ καὶ τριακοστοῦ
 ἐφ' ἰερέως Ἐπαινέτου τοῦ
 Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν
 κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου
 Ἐχειτίμης τῆς Μεννέου

In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Soter, the priest of Alexander and of the gods Adelphi being Epaenetus, son of Epaenetus, the canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus being Echetime daughter of Menneas, on the . . . which is in the Egyptian calendar Pharmouthi the nineteenth (or twenty-ninth), Democles son of Lyson, . . . a Heracleian, hundred-aroura holder of those in the Arsinoite nome, from the village of . . . , acknowledges that he has received from Zenon, the Caunian, son of Agreiophon, of the entourage of Apollonius the dioecetes, twenty (?) silver drachmas . . . for which he will pay in Pharbaitus of the same nome forty artabae of . . . in the receiving measure . . . in the month of Payni in the 37th year. If he does not repay it in the time agreed upon he shall forfeit to Zenon for the value of each artaba two drachmas; and the right of execution shall rest with Zenon and the person bearing the note in behalf of Zenon. Witnesses.

2. The year 36 suggested itself on general considerations and was then supported by the name Epaenetus (l. 17) as priest of Alexander. See Revillout, *Chrestomathie Demotique*, p. 246, who transliterated the name as Apinatus, son of Apinatus. Grenfell, *P. Hib.* p. 373, had foreseen that this name was probably wrongly read by Revillout, because his reading of the name of the canephorus as "Atis, daughter of Mennas" had been corrected (by *P. Pet.* I 22 (1). 2 and dem. *P. Louvre* 2443) to Echetime, daughter of Menneas. See Otto, *Priester und Tempel* I 186 3; Flaumann's list of the κανήφοροι in Pauly-Wissowa VIII 1441, 1442, and of. *P. Pet.* I 22 (1). 2, Π[το]λεμαίου Σωτήρος ἔτους ἑκτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ ἐφ' ἰ[ε]ρέως καὶ κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἐχετίμης τῆς Μεννέου.

4, 5. The date must be read ἐνάτη [καὶ δεκάτη] or ἐνάτη [καὶ εἰκοστή], in order to fill out a part of the lacuna existing before ὁμολογῇ. Even if we were sure whether the date according to the Egyptian calendar was to be restored as the 19th or the 29th of Pharmouthi, we could not attempt to supply the corresponding date in the Macedonian calendar. Zenon, as is well known, was never certain of the exact relation between the Macedonian calendar and the Egyptian calendar which was in general use in the Fayûm. See Meyer, *Chron.*, particularly pp. 11, 12.

8. The amount of the loan may lie within the range of 20-29 drachmas. We believe, however, that it may best be left

at 20 drachmas without further restoration in the following line, as for example δραχμας εἴκοσι [πέντε. We think it safe to assume, as restored in l. 10, that the grain in which the debt was to be paid was wheat. The price of wheat in the Zenon period stood at about 1 drachma, as is clear from *P. Cairo Edgar* 111. 4-11. The forty artabae repayment in wheat would represent an interest charge of 100 % for fifteen months, so far as actual market value of the wheat is concerned. Against this, however, Zenon would have to figure transportation, handling and storage charges, so that it would by no means represent a 100 % profit on his loan.

For the restoration Καυνίου τῶν περὶ Ἀπολλώνιον of. *P. Cairo Edgar* 3. 4 and 36a. 1.

14. The forfeit of the two drachmas per artaba represents the conventional *poena duplex* on the capital loaned and the interest charge, which are here represented by the forty artabae of grain. More than one drachma is required by the plural δραχμας. The restoration [δύο] seems certain for the reason that δραχμας [τρεῖς] would carry the penalty much too high.

14, 15. τῶι τὸ σύμβολον ἐπιφέρειν ὑπὲρ Ζήνωνος of. *P. Eleph.* III 6, οὗ δὲ ἐπιφέρει ἑλάφιον κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ ἑλαφίου πράσσων, and *P. Eleph.* IV 7. For the restoration of μάρτυρες in the upper text, or duplicate, see *P. Berl. Inv.* 11773. 12, in *Z. Sav.-St.* XXXIX 225.

3. ESTIMATE OF FREIGHT CHARGES POSSIBLY FROM THE ZENON ARCHIVE

Philadelphia? 11 3/4 x 3 3/4 in. Middle third century B. C.

This document is to be compared with the private accounts of transport charges published as *P. Oxy.* XIV 1650, 1650(a) and 1651, which date from the period of the Empire. It differs, however, from those accounts in being an estimate submitted upon transport to Memphis (of grain, no doubt), rather than a bill for services already rendered. This is indicated by the future tense used in ll. 18-20, "for the commission agent who *will* receive and measure" the cargo, and by the statement in ll. 24-26 that the charges submitted above did not include certain items such as interest, lodging, food and, perhaps, police protection. If this were an account of services already rendered these charges would either be included or they would not have been mentioned at all, according to the understanding already made between the owner of the boat and the shipper as to who was to bear them.

The estimate is made for 100 artabae, which was the regular unit in reckoning freight (*P. Cairo Edgar* 111). The clerical fee upon the total boatload is reckoned at 2 drachmas 4 obols silver (ll. 12, 13), and the portion thereof falling upon the 100 artabae unit is then distributed at 3 obols. This fixes the capacity of the boat at 538 1/3 artabae, which compares closely with the 550 and 540 artabae recorded as shiploads in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1650 and 1650(a) respectively.

The chief difficulty encountered in the interpretation of the document lay in the fact that the reckoning, on the

whole, was on the copper standard, but that certain items, such as the inspection tax (ll. 5-7) and the clerical charge (ll. 12, 13), were estimated according to the silver standard and the charge per 100 artabae for these items was immediately thereafter set down as reckoned in the copper standard. The total charge per 100 artabae is drawn on the copper standard; and this is followed by an estimate of the cost as averaged per artaba (ll. 21-23).

-[
 ἑκατὸν [άρταβῶν
 εκτη.[
 ναῦλον εἰς χα(λκὸν) (δραχμαὶ) μετ'
 5 ἐραυνητῖκὸν ἐμ
 Μ[έμ]φ[ει] ἀργυρί-
 ου (δρ.) δ. ὥς δὲ ἄγο[νται] τοῖς
 ἐπιβάλλουσι ταῖς ρ [(δρ.) μθ (διώβολον) (τέταρτον) ?
 καὶ ἐμ Μέμφει τὸ.[
 10 τέλος τῆς ἀρ(τ.) χα(λ.) ἀργυ(ρίου) (δρ.) β (ἡμιωβέλιον).
 καταλλαγή (όβολός) (τέταρτ. ?).
 γραμματικὸν τοῦ πλοῖ-
 ου ἀργυ(ρίου) β (τετρώβολον). ἐπιβάλλει
 ταῖς ρ σὺν καταλλαγ(ῇ) (τριώβολον).
 15 ἐργατικὸν α (τετρώβ.).
 ἱεροῖς τῶν ρ συνάγε-
 ται εἰς χα(λ.) β (τριώβ.).
 χειριστῇ τῷ παραδε-
 ξομένῳ καὶ παραμε-
 20 τρήσονται τῶν ρ (δρ.) α.

(γίνονται) τῶν ρ ἄρ(τ.) χα(λκοῦ) (δρ.) νζ (διώβ.).
 εἰ δ' ἦσαν (δρ.) νη (διώβ.)
 ἐπιβάλλει τῇ ἄρ(τ.) (τριώβ.) (ἡμιωβ.)
 χωρὶς τόκου ἐνοικίων
 25 καταβρώματος δια-
 μέτρου.

space

διατρῶν. θων ἄρ(τ.)... (πεντώβολον?)
 ἐν τῷ αἰωστο...
 εἰς[.....]σι χα(λκοῦ) (δρ.)
 30 ας..... τῆς ἄρ(τ.) (τριώβ.?) (ἡμιωβ.) (δρ.) δ (πεντώβ.)
 (ἡμιωβ.).
 .λ....στ

Verso

τ...ωι
 λ...που

Φορμίωνι

Lines 4-26. Freightage, reckoned in copper, 45 drachmas (?). Inspection tax at Memphis, silver, 4 drachmas. Thus there are added to the charges per 100 (artabae), 49 drachmas, 2 1/4 obols (?). Also in Memphis the . . . toll, at 1 chalkous per artaba, (total), silver, 2 drachmas 1/2 obol. Discount, 1 1/4 obols. Clerical charges on the boat, silver, 2 (drachmas) 4 obols. Distributed per 100 (artabae), with discount, 3 obols. Labor charge, 1 (drachma) 4 obols. Added for temple dues per 100 (artabae), transposed into copper, 2 (drachmas) 3 obols. For commission agent, who will receive and measure, per 100, 1 drachma. Total charges per 100 artabae, in copper, 57 drachmas 2 obols. Figuring the total as 56 drachmas 2 obols, the charge per artaba is 3 1/2 obols, not including interest, lodging, food, police protection (?).

Verso. T . . . to Phormio.

4. εἰς χαλκόν): of. l. 17. The restoration of the freightage charge at 45 dr. copper was obtained as follows: the known charges entering into the total of 57 drachmas 2 obols copper were computed from the bottom upward. They are: commission man, 1 dr.; temple dues, 2 dr. 3 ob.; labor charge, 1 dr. 4 ob.; clerical charge per 100 artabae, 3 ob.; toll at Memphis (including the discount on copper in l. 11), 2 dr. 1 ob. 6 chal. The total of these items is 7 drachmas 5 obols 6 chalkoi. The inspection fee of 4 dr. in silver (ll. 5-7) reckoned into the copper standard by adding the 10% discount gives 4 4/10 dr., or roughly 4 1/3+ dr. Computing this as 4 dr. 2 ob. 2 chal., we found that the remaining account, the charge for freightage, would be the round number of 45 dr. copper. This presupposes that there were no small charges preceding the main charge, which was that for the use of the boat, just as there were no charges recorded before the similar entry for the use of the boat in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1650 coll. 1 and 2.

5. There is very little doubt of the reading, because of the appearance of the ἐραυνητικόν in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1650 following only two lines below the large payment for freightage, λόγος πάλτωνος, coll. 1, 2, and the ἄλλ(ου) πλ(οίου) of col. II 20.

7. ἄγρ[νται] is suggested from the analogy of λεπτοῖς τῶν ρ συνάγεται in ll. 16, 17.

11. Possibly only ὀβολός should be read.

14. The upper half of the sign which we read as τριώβολον is gone. One might read the sign for τετρώβολον but not that for πεντώβολον. The total clerical charges upon the ship and cargo were estimated at 2 dr. 4 ob. silver. The portion assignable per 100 artabae was 3 ob.

15. ἐργατικόν: in *Annales* XXIII 85 Edgar published an account of the year 259 B. C. from the Zenon archive, giving the amount expended for portorage (φόρστρον) on a shipment of varied goods (*P. Cairo Edgar* 74). The account is headed ἀνήλωμα ἐργάταις. It is possible that the ἐργατικόν here means "portorage," but we have preferred to keep the general idea in translating it "labor charge." There is a space of one letter between τ and κ of ἐργατικόν.

16. λεπτοῖς τῶν ρ: of. the payment εἰς τὸ Ἡρακλεῖον in *P. Hib.* 110 col. II 5.

22. This line, beginning slightly to the left, in the margin, and written in smaller letters but in the same hand, is crowded into the customary blank space between two lines. It was obviously inserted after l. 23 had been written, perhaps after the whole document was complete. On the basis of 57 dr. 2 ob., the estimate per artaba would give 3.44 ob. Estimating on the basis of 58 dr. 2 ob., the prospective charge is exactly 3 1/2 ob.

24. ἐνοίκιον in the period of the Empire comes to mean "rent" of any kind, as in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1737 (2nd or 3rd century), where it is used for the rent of a loom. Here it must be understood in the primary sense of "rent for lodgings."

25. διαμέτρου: The context gives the meaning as "soldier's allowance," or allowance for some kind of protection. See *P. Hib.* 110. 14 and note, where that meaning should, we think, be retained, as the translation given by the editors is not satisfactory. The διαμέτρου here must be the Ptolemaic equivalent for the charges paid to the *stationarius* and the *beneficiarius* in the private grain transport of Roman times. See *P. Oxy.* XIV 1651. 13, 19; the payment to the στρατιώτη in 1650(a). 7; and that to the φύλαξ in 1650. 12.

27-31. These five lines are badly smudged, in such a manner that they seem to have been purposely erased.

30. The sign for τριώβολον after ἀρ(τάβης) is quite doubtful.

32, 33. The name of Phormio is written in large well-formed uncials. The two words to the left, which are separated from it by about 1 1/2 inches, are written in a small cursive hand. They are probably, as so often in the letters of Zenon, a docket.

4. CONTRACT WITH A CARPENTER

Pathyris

5 3/4 x 2 3/4 in.

111 B. C.

The following are the reasons for fixing the document in the sixth year of Ptolemy Soter II: (1) The script is of the late second century B. C.; (2) The contract was drawn up in Pathyris in the Thebaid in the notarial office of Ammonius, who has already been dated tentatively by *P. Lond.* 218 (II p. 15) as *agoranomus* in Pathyris in the year 111 B. C.; (3) A Horus, son of Nechutes, who in our document is called a Persian of the Epigone, is known from *P. Lond.* 1204 (III p. 11) as living in Pathyris in the year 113 B. C. He is not there called Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, but his female relatives are called Περσίαι.

The contract calls for the making of a wagon yoke and a basket, both to be of good quality, by the carpenter Petes. These are to be delivered within nine months. The contract was executed on Pharmouthi 5th, which places it in late April at that time. The carpenter would have the period of the flood, the slack season for Egyptian agricultural labor, for the completion of the work. Reil, *Beiträge*, has already pointed out that carpentry was not a highly specialized craft in Egypt (p. 74 ff.) and that the making of wagons and all their parts was a phase of general carpentry (p. 80). In the villages the trade evidently included basket weaving; in the cities, however, basket weaving was a specialized trade (p. 125).

ἔτους ε' Φαρμοῦθι ε'
ἐν Παθύρει ἐπ' Ἀμ-
μωνίου ἀγορανόμου.

ὁμολογεῖ Πετῆς
 5 Πεατίου τέκτων
 Ὡρωι Νεχούτου τοῦ
 Ἀγατρέους Πέρσηι
 τῆς ἐπιγονῆς
 εἰ μὴν κατασκεῦσαι
 10 ζυγὸν ἀμαξικὸν
 καὶ κόφινον ἄρεσ-
 τα ἕως Τῦβι γ
 τοῦ ζ (ἕτους). ἐὰν δὲ μὴ
 ποιῇ καθότι προγέ-
 15 γρα(πται) ἀποτεισάτω
 παραχρῆμα χ....
 η...[

broken

Year 6, Pharmouthi 5, in Pathyris in the presence of Ammonius, recorder. Petes son of Peatius, carpenter, agrees with Horus, Persian of the Epigone, son of Nachutes, son of Agatres, to make a wagon yoke and a basket, both to be satisfactory, before Tybi 3rd of the 7th year. If he does not do according as is written above, he is to pay forthwith . . .

9. For εἰ μὴν as an implied oath see *P. Amh.* 68. 33 and *P. Teb.* I 22. 13. The υ of κατασκεῦσαι was omitted by the scribe and then inserted directly above the ε.

11. For κόφινος in the papyri see Reil, *Beiträge* 125.

15. Read ἀποτίσάτω.

16. The χ is unmistakable. The tops of three or four more letters are visible. The word may possibly be χαλκοῦ, but we doubt it.

17. πα...[may be read.

5. PRIVATE LETTER REGARDING FARM MATTERS

Fayûm

3 1/4 x 3 in.

Second century B.C.

The first line, containing the names of the writer and addressee, is lacking. The end of the addressee's name is on the verso. The writing is with the fibres, in clear, well-formed uncials. Harpaesis and his three assistants were to be hired either to work a waterwheel (modern *sakje*), as is suggested by the number of them, or else a series of *shadufs*. See the excellent study *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, by Michael Schnebel, p. 71 ff. Irrigation work was obviously considered a specialized form of manual labor in Ptolemaic Egypt.

broken

χαίρειν καὶ ἑρρῶσθαι.
 ἐπεὶ χρεῖαν ἔχομεν
 ἐργάτων τεσσάρων
 πρὸς τὸν ποτισμὸν
 5 τῶν [ἄρου]ρ[ῶ]ν, καλῶς
 ποιήσεις Ἀρπαῆσιν
 ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν
 μετ' ἄλλων τριῶν
 τῶν ἐπισταμένων
 10 ὀργανίζειν. τὸν δὲ
 τούτων μισθὸν κομι-
 οῦνται καθ' ἡμέραν.
 ἑρρωσο.

Verso

..[]ηδε.

. . . to . . . edes greetings and good health. Since we are in need of four workmen for the irrigation of the fields please send Harpaesis to us with three others who are skilled in working the water-wheel. They will receive their pay daily. Goodby.

4. ποτίζειν is used to express any method of irrigation, whether natural or artificial, as opposed to ἀντλεῖν which is used only of artificial irrigation, according to Schnebel, p. 71. ὀργανίζειν in l. 10 shows that we here deal with irrigation by machine.

5. ὀρουρῶν fits in the lacuna better than κτημάτων which first suggests itself. Also the lower stroke of the ρ is visible. For ὀρουρῶν as "fields" see P. kev. 42.9n.

6. CANCELLED CONTRACT OF LOAN

Fayûm, Oxyrhyncha

10 1/4 x 7 1/2 in.

17 A. D.

The loan, amounting to 480 drachmas silver, was made by Heraclius to Dionysius and his wife Thasos. It was to run for twelve months, from Mecheir of the third year of Tiberius to Tybi of the fourth year, drawing interest at the rate of 1 1/2% per month. When the note was paid the contract was cancelled by drawing a series of heavy strokes, in the form of the letter X, over the entire face of the loan. The upper two series of these cross strokes are large, the first row covering ll. 1-5, the second row ll. 5-10. The remaining six rows of cross strokes are, roughly, half the size of the upper rows.

The body of the document is written in an irregular hand, varying from a carefully formed uncial to a somewhat smaller cursive. The second hand, that of the lender, Heraclius, is semi-cursive and slovenly. Dionysius, the borrower (third hand), writes in heavy crude uncials. The clerk who countersigned the document for the office of the *nomographus* (fourth hand) writes in uncials with few ligatures, rather finely, though with self-conscious effort.

Ἡράκλειος (ἐτῶν) λε φακὸς ῥινὶ μέσηι.
 Ἔτους [τ]ρίτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ
 δεκάτῃ Μεχε[ῖρ] δεκάτῃ
 ἐν Ὁξυρ[ύγχοις] τῆς Πολέμωνος μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοεΐτου
 νομοῦ ἐδάνισεν Ἡράκλειος
 Ἡρακ[λ]εῖους ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα πέντε φακὸς ῥινὶ μέσηι
 Διονυσίῳ Μάρωνος
 5 Πέρσ[η] τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὥς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα δύο οὐλῇ
 καρπῷ χιρὸς δεξιᾶς
 μετὰ τούτου γυναικὶ θασῶτι Ψοΐφιος Περσίνη ὥς ἐτῶν
 τεσσαράκοντα οὐλῇ

ὁφ[ρ]ύ[ι] δεξιᾱ μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἀνδρὸς
 Διονυσίου ἀλλήλων
 ἐ[γγυοί]ς εἰς ἔκτισιν ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου νομίσματος
 κεφαλαίου δ[ρα]χμὰς
 [τεσσαρ]ακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα ἅς καὶ εἴληφεν παρ' αὐτοῦ
 παραχρῆμ[α ἐ]κ χιρὸς
 10 ἐξ οἴκου τόκου ὥς ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς τριωβόλου τῇ μνη
 τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον. τὸ
 δὲ δάνειον τοῦτο τὰς τοῦ ἐπισήμου νομίσματος ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας
 ὀγ]δοήκοντα ἀποδότῳσαν οἱ δεδανισμ[ένοι] τῷ[ι] 'Ηρακλείῳ
 ἐν μηνὶ Τῦβι
 τ]οῦ ἰσιόντος τετάρτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ.
 ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶσι ἀποτι-
 σάτωσαν τὸ μὲν δάνειον ἡμιόλιον, τοὺς δε τόκους αὐτοὺς,
 τῆς πράξεως καὶ 'Ηρακλείῳ οὖ-
 15 σης ἐκ τῶν δανισμένων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν
 ἀπάντ[ων]. 2nd h. καὶ 'Ηρ-
 ἀκλ]ειος 'Ηρακλείου δεδάνικα τὰς προκιμένας ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς [ς τεσ]σαρακο-
 σίας ὀγδοήκοντα ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις.
 3rd h. Δι]ονύσιος Μάρωνος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ ἡ γυνή μου
 Θασῶς Ψοίφι-
 ος] Περσεΐνη μετὰ κυρίου ἐμ[ο]ῦ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου
 ἀνδρὸς Δι-
 20 ον]υσίου ἀλλήλων ἕγγυοι εἰς ἔκτεισιν ἔχομεν τὸ δάνηον
 παρὰ
 'Ηρ]ακλέου τοῦ 'Ηρακλέους τοῦ προνοοῦντος τῶν 'Ηρακλέου
 τοῦ] 'Ηρακλέου[ς] τοῦ 'Ηρώδου τ[ὰ]ς τοῦ ἐπισήμου
 νομίσματος
 ἀρ]γυρίου δραχμὰς τετρακοσίας ὀγδοήκοντα τόκου ὥς
 ἐκ δραχμῆς μιᾶς τριωβόλου τῇ μνη τὸν μῆνα ἕκαστον
 25 ἅς καὶ ἀποδώσομεν ἐν μηνὶ Τῦβι τοῦ εἰσιόντος τετάρτου
 ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ καθότι πρόκιτ[αι].
 Διονύ-
 σιος ὁ προγεγραμμένος γέγραφα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς

μου θασῶτος μὴ εἰδυείης γράμματα καὶ ἐπιγέ[γρ]αμμαι
 αὐτῆς κύριος. εἶμι ὥς ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα δύο οὐλ(ῆ) καρ-
 30 πῶι χειρὸς δεξιᾶς. 4th h. ἔτους τρίτου Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ
 Μεχεῖρ δεκάτῃ διὰ Ἑρμίου νομογρ(άφου) Ὀξυρύχων
 Ἀρσινοείτου.

Verso

Δάνος ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) ὑπ' Ἡρακλείου
 πρὸς Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν γ(υναῖκα).

Docket. *Heraclius, aged 35, wart on the middle of his nose.*

In the third year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus on the 10th of the month Xanthikos, Mecheir 10th, in Oxyrhyncha of the division of Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, Heraclius son of Heracles, aged thirty-five, wart on the middle of his nose, loaned to Dionysius, son of Maron, Persian of the Epigone, aged forty-two, scar on the right wrist, together with his wife, Thasos, daughter of Psoiphis, of the classification "Persian," aged forty, scar on the right eyebrow, acting with her guardian, her husband Dionysius mentioned above, they being sureties one for the other for repayment, the capital sum of 480 drachmas in coined silver. This money he has received from him forthwith from hand to hand out of the house, at interest of one drachma three obols on the mina for each month. This loan, the 480 drachmas of coined money in silver, the borrowers shall pay back to Heraclius in the month Tybi of the coming fourth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. If they do not repay it, they shall forfeit the loan increased by one-half, and the interest itself, and Heraclius shall have the right of execution upon the borrowers and all their belongings.

2nd hand. *And I Heraclius, son of Heracles, have loaned the 480 drachmas of silver agreed upon, according to all the foregoing conditions.*

3rd hand. *We, Dionysius son of Maron, Persian of the Epigone, and my wife Thasos, daughter of Psoiphis, of the classification "Persian," with her guardian, namely, me, her husband Dionysius mentioned above, being sureties one for the other for repayment, have the loan from Heraclius son of Heracles, administrator of the affairs of Heraclius, son of Heracles, son of Herodes, to wit, the capital sum of 480 drachmas in coined silver, at interest of one drachma three obols on the mina for each month. This money we will pay back in the month Tybi of the coming fourth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus as agreed.*

I, the above-mentioned Dionysius, have written also in behalf of my wife, Thasos, who cannot write, and I am registered as her guardian. I am forty-two years old, scar on my right wrist.

4th hand. *Year 9 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Nechoir the 10th, through Hermias, nome scribe of Oxyrhyncha of the Arsinoite nome.*

Verse. *Loan of 480 drachmas silver by Heraclius to Dionysius and his wife.*

3. For the village 'Οξύφυχα of the Arsinoite nome see P. Ryl. 71, 72.

5. Read χεῖρός. So also in l. 9.

6. The woman Thasos, whose name is a good Egyptian one, belongs to the class of her father, namely, the "Persians." See Schubart in *Archiv* V 112 note 3. The loss of any racial significance in these national classifications is, therefore, equally shown in the case of her father with the Egyptian name, Psoiphis, and her husband with the Greek name, Dionysius, both Persians of the Epigone.

13-20. Read ἐλπίοντες, ἀποδόσει, (82) δανεισμένον, Ἡρακλῆν, ἔντιόν, δάνειον.

20, 21. We are in some confusion as to these several names, Heraclius and Heracles. So far as we can decide, the lender of the 480 drachmas, Heraclius with the wart, is administrator for the affairs of another Heraclius whose father also is named Heracles but whose grandfather is Herodes. We judge that Heraclius with the wart was loaning money actually belonging to Heraclius, grandson of Herodes.

26. Read πρόχειται.

28. Read εἰδούλας.

7. ABSTRACTS OF CONTRACTS OF LOAN

Karanis

8 3/4 x 5 3/4 in.

After 126 A. D.

The first of these abstracts is somewhat like those published as *P. Oxy.* XIV 1648 and 1649. It records a loan of 382 drachmas received by a woman named Tapetheus from another woman named Sambathius on Caesarius (Mesore) 25th of the tenth year of Hadrian. The annual interest upon this loan was to be met out of the harvest of a small olive grove belonging to Tapetheus.

The second abstract is, we judge, the notation of another loan received some three years earlier by the same woman, Tapetheus, from a former cobbler and ex-official named Comon. The amount of this loan is not given.

ι (ἔτους) Τραιανοῦ Ἀδρ[ι]ανοῦ Κ[αίσαρ]ος τοῦ κυρίο(υ)
μηνὸς Καισαρείου καὶ ἐν Καρ(ανίδι).
ὁμολογεῖ Τραπεθεὺς Πασοκνοπαίου
τοῦ Διδυμίου Σαμβαθίῳ

- 5 Ἡρᾶτος μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Πε-
κμήτιος τοῦ Φαήρμ(ιος) χρῆσιν ἐντο-
κὸν ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμὰς) τπβ κα[ι] ἀντὶ τῶν
τούτων τόκων συγχωρεῖ καρπ(ί)ζεσθαι
τῇ Σαμβαθί(ῳ) ὃν πει...εναρσι.νιεῖ.
10 ἔλαιῶνος (ἀρούρας) (τέταρτον) μέχρει οὐδ' ἀποδοῦ τὸ
προκείμενον κεφάλαιον.

- καὶ διὰ τοῦ προτέρου ῥάπτου τοῦ γενομένου
ὑπ() Κόμωνος Πασοκνοπ(αίου) τῇ Τραπεθεῖ
Πασοκνοπαί(ο)υ (ἔτους) ζ Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
15 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Τῦβι δ.

[illegible][illegible]

Year 10 of Trajan Hadrian Caesar our lord, the 25th of the month Caesarius, in Karanis. Tapetheus daughter of Pasocnopaeus, son of Didymion, agrees with Sambathius, daughter of Heras, acting with her official representative, her husband Pecmeis, son of Phaermis, that she has received an interest-bearing loan of 982 drachmas of silver; and in lieu of the interest upon this loan she concedes that the fruits of a quarter aroura of an olive grove which . . . be gathered for Sambathius until she shall have paid back the capital sum above mentioned.

Also (loan) through the former cobbler, the ex-hypo . . . , Comon, son of Pasocnopaeus, to Tapetheus, daughter of Pasocnopaeus, year 7 of Trajan Hadrian Caesar our lord, Tybi 4th.

1, 2. The beginning of the document, down to ἐν Καρ(α)νίς) in 1. 2, is written in a smaller and heavier hand than the rest. The difference in the letter forms is not great and might be accounted for merely by the assumption of a change of pen in writing.

2. The day of the month may be xθ instead of xε.

3. Τανθεύς as a feminine name is unusual.

8. The right of the creditor to harvest the crops of the debtor in case of failure to pay interest appears frequently in contracts of money-loans, e. g. P. Teb. II 390. 22, 23. In BGU I 101, just as here, a half share of the produce of a 2 aroura plot serves as interest.

10. Read μέρη, ἀποδῶ.

13. There is no sign of abbreviation after ὁπ(). But that is the case also in the abbreviated proper names in 11. 6, 9, 14. We are unable to suggest a satisfactory resolution.

8. CONTRACT OF FARM LABOR ON HALF SHARE BASIS

Fayûm (Hephaestias?)

4 3/4 x 3 1/2 in.

First century

The beginning of the following contract offered some difficulty. A strip of papyrus had been pasted over the first line, in such a way, however, as to leave visible some few traces of letters, and then had been cut off cleanly at the top. After removing the strip, we have been able to recover only a few letters of l. 1, as indicated in the text. The papyrus was also cut off at the bottom, leaving traces of the tops of letters which may have been the date. It would appear that the pasting and cutting were done in antiquity, but the reason for the action does not suggest itself to us.

The party of the first part in this letter contract has rented four arourae of state land consisting of two separate plots about the village of Hephaestias. One plot, of two arourae, was dry land (l. 7), the other presumably seed land, though its production type is lost in the damaged portions of ll. 4, 5. The lessee of the two plots agrees with the son of Aphrodisia (his name being lost in l. 1) that they will work the land together throughout the period of the lease. They are to share equally in the farm labors involved, furnish seed on an equal basis and divide the crop on equal shares. The customary legal formula regarding the crop-sharing, ll. 14-16, emphasizes strongly the equality of profit between the state lessee and A . . . , the laborer. Evidently it was the net crop which was shared after deduction of rent and taxes to the state.

'A[.....]π[..... μητ]ρὸς

'Αφ[ρο]δισίας τῆς Ἀμμωνίου χαίρειν. ἀπεμισ-
θω[σ]άμην ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου περὶ κώμην

Ἡφαιστιᾶδ[ος] ἀπὸ τ. ντησ.....κη...ωσπ...

5 μ. ὑπαρχόντων πρότ[ε]ρον [...ακμ[...]]ω

- ἀνὰ πυροῦ μίαν ἡμισυ ἀρούρας δύο καὶ ὁμοί-
 ως περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην ἀπὸ χέρσου [ἀ]ρού-
 ρας δύο, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, ἀ[ρ]ούρας τέσσαρες. ὁμο-
 λογῶ κατὰ τόδε τὸ χει[ρό]γραφον κοινῶς ἐξ ἡ-
 10 σου ἑκαστ[ο]ν κατὰ τὸ ἡ[μι]συ [μ]έρος ποιήσιν
 τὴν τούτων ἐ[ργ]ασίαν ἐφ' ὃν χρόνον ἡμισ-
 θωσάμην, τῶν ἔργων πάντων καὶ σπερ-
 μάτων ὄντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινῶς κα-
 τὰ τὸ ἡμισυ μ[έρος], ἐφ' ᾧ καρπισώμεθα
 15 τὸν καρπὸν τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν
 τεσσάρων κοινῶς ἐξ ἴσου κατὰ τὸ ἡμισυ.

]....[

broken

. . . to . . . whose mother is Aphrodisia, daughter of Ammonius, greeting. I have leased from the public domain around the village of Hephaestias of (seed land?) of the fields formerly belonging to . . . at the rent of 1 1/2 artabae in wheat, two arourae, and likewise about the same village, two arourae of dry land, these on the same terms, (total) 4 arourae. In accordance with this document I agree that we will do the work upon these in common, equally, each doing one half the work, for the period covered by my lease, all the farm work and seed falling upon us in common on a half share basis, on the understanding that we are to share the crop of the above mentioned four arourae in common, equally, by halves.

4. Hephaestias was located near Bacchias in the north-western part of the Fayûm, so close that the two villages were sometimes treated as one, *P. Teb.* II p. 378. The broken part of this line would normally contain a statement of the quality of the land in this first plot, as in the corresponding reference to χέρσου, l. 7. But there is no indication, in the letters which remain, of the expected words, ἀπὸ γῆς σπορίμης or ἀπὸ γῆς βεβρεγμένης.

8. Read τέσσαρες.

10. Read ποιήσιν.

9. CONTRACT WITH CASTANET DANCERS

Philadelphia

8 x 3 1/4 in.

206 A. D.

This papyrus was published by Westermann in *JEA* X (1924) 134-144, with an interpretation of the extant contracts with entertainers in their social and economic aspects, to which Bell added a similar document for the hire of four flageolet players (*ibid.* 145, 146; *P. Lond.* Inv. No. 1917, hereafter referred to simply as *P. Lond.* 1917). The contract is here reproduced with two important corrections of reading and additions based upon the new document published by Bell, and with suggestions which have come to us from a number of interested scholars.

Including *P. Lond.* 1917 and this contract, there are now fourteen documents upon entertainers which primarily come into consideration: *BGU* IV 1125; *P. Oxy.* IV 731; *P. Lond.* II 331 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 495); *P. Flor.* 74; *P. Oxy.* X 1275; *P. Oxy.* III 519 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 492); *P. Oxy.* VII 1025 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 493); *P. Oxy.* VII 1050; *Stud. Pal.* XIII 6 (= XX 78); *P. Gen.* 73 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 496); *P. Grenf.* II 67 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 497); and *P. Hib.* 54, which, unlike the others, is early Ptolemaic. The results of Westermann's discussion in *JEA* X, based upon these references, may be briefly stated. Closely similar to our contract in form and content are *P. Lond.* 1917 and *P. Grenf.* II 67, which show a marked uniformity in the order of the points covered, as well as in phraseology, during the period from the beginning of Severus' principate to that of Maximinus (194-237 A. D.).

Professional entertaining was a craft (*ἐργασία* in *P. Lond.* 1917) peculiarly urban in character. Some of the groups of artists were, from the economic standpoint, highly organized in companies (see the *συμφωνία* of *P. Flor.*

74). The head of such a company (προεστὼς συμφωνίας αὐλητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν, in *P. Oxy.* X 1275) was an *entrepreneur* in the technical economic sense of that term. The company was his organization (μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συμφωνίας, *ibid.* 11, 12). In such companies the *entrepreneur* evidently assumed the financial risks involved, contracting to guarantee to the artists whom he hired a certain fixed number of days' work during the year, and paying them a fixed wage for each of these days. According to *P. Oxy.* IV 731, upon which these deductions were based (see *JEA* X 138, 139), the ninth and tenth of each month, for reasons which we do not know, were those upon which the head of the *symphonia* particularly needed the services of his artists. In this contract he also required the entertainers' services for two days at the festival of Isis and for three days at the time of the festival called "The Stars of Hera." The rate of pay per diem for the lower types of entertainers in Egypt, such as our castanet dancers, was roughly estimated by Westermann at about two drachmas at the time of Augustus, which may best be compared with that of weavers at the same time. An ordinary weaver received 5 1/4 obols, a master weaver 1 1/2 drachmas (Westermann, *ibid.*, p. 142). The higher types of artists, such as mimes and Homeric reciters, who customarily appeared in the urban centers rather than in the villages, were much more highly recompensed (*P. Oxy.* III 519 and *P. Grenf.* II 67). One apprentice contract is extant (*BGV* IV 1125), for vocational training in flageolet playing, which indicates a high degree of specialization in technical training both for musical accompanists and for virtuosi. For other minor details we refer to the article in *JEA* quoted above.

There is no definite indication in the document here presented that Isidora, the castanet dancer, second party of the contract, was a member of a large company, though that possibility is not excluded. She makes her own contract, agreeing to bring two other dancers with her. She may, therefore, well have been the head of a small *symphonia*. The

number of days of service demanded of the entertainers in the extant documents is five, six or seven, with the possibility of a ten-day contract in *P. Grenf.* II 67 (237 A.D.). The four flageoletists in *P. Lond.* 1917 were hired to play in Tebtunis village for seven days; Isidora and her two companions in the present contract for six days at Philadelphia. The rate of pay for the four flageoletists in the contract published by Bell is noticeably lower than that of the three dancers of our contract. It is but eighteen drachmas per day for six days, a seventh or extra day of service being given without pay. The per diem wage for the group of four is, therefore, only 15 drachmas 2 and a fraction obols, plus a six drachma gratuity. The difference may, of course, lie in a change in the purchasing power of money in the twelve years' interval between the two documents (accepting Bell's provisional date of 194 A.D.), or it may reflect the fact that flageoletists were actually less highly paid than specialized dancers. This suggestion of inferiority in craft standing is somewhat strengthened by the distinction made in *P. Oxy.* X 1275. 9 between "flageolet players and musicians." The observation that the flageolet apprentice in *BGV* IV 1125 was a slave boy does not bear upon the question, since the dancer in Vergil's *Copa* was a Syrian slave; and this legal status might well be postulated for many of the lesser *artistes*, though not for the woman Isidora of our document. She was a free person empowered by her status to make contracts without a legal representative.

Isidora and her companions furnished their own costumes, as the flageoletists in *P. Lond.* 1917. 20 furnished their instruments (ἀργαλεῖα for ἐργαλεῖα). Insurance against loss of their musical instruments was contractually assured to these musicians, just as in our document Isidora is protected against loss of her professional wardrobe of garments and gold ornaments. Transportation was usually furnished to the traveling artists, as to Isidora and her companions (*P. Grenf.* II 67; *P. Oxy.* X 1275; *P. Lond.* II 331). *P. Lond.* 1917 differs from the remaining documents in that two drachmas are allowed for transportation in lieu of the actual donkeys.

Pierre Jouguet has kindly called our attention to the bronze figurine of a castanet dancer published by Paul Perdrizet in his *Bronzes Grecs d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1911), Plate XXIX. See the discussion, p. 63 ff. Perdrizet calls attention to the similarity of the transparent linen garment which the dancer wears to those depicted in the wall decorations of the Theban period, and to the costume and instruments used in Egypt of today by the *almehs*, who present the *danse du ventre* at Egyptian marriages.

- 'Ισιδώρα κροταλι[στ]ρία
 παρὰ 'Αρτ[ε]μ[ί]ς[ι]ης ἀπὸ κώ-
 μης Φιλαδελφείας. βούλομαι
 παρ[α]λαβεῖν σε σὺν ἐτέραις κρο-
 5 ταλ[ισ]τρίαις β λιτουργήσασαι
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἡμ[έρ]ας ἕξ ἀπὸ
 τῆς κδ τοῦ Παῦ[ν]ι μηνὸς κατ' ἄρ-
 χαίους, λαμβαν[ό]ντων ὑμῶν
 ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ καθ' [ἡμ]έραν ἑκάσ-
 10 την (δραχμὰς) λς καὶ ὑ[πὲ]ρ πασῶν τῶν
 ἡμε[ρ]ῶν κριθῆς [(ἀρτάβας)] δ καὶ ἄρ-
 των ζεύγη κ, ὅσ[α] δὲ εἴαν κα-
 τενέγκηται ἱμά[τ]ια ἢ χρυσᾶ
 κόσμια, ταῦτα σ[ὺ]α παραφυ-
 15 λάξομεν, παρ[εξ]όμεθα δὲ
 ὑμῖν κατερχομέ[νο]ις ὄνους
 δύο καὶ ἀνερχο[μ]ένοις
 τοὺς ἴσους.

 ἔτους ιδ Λουκίου Σεπτι[μ]πίου Σεουήρου
 20 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίνακος [καὶ] Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί[νο]υ Εὐσεβοῦς
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Που[βλί]ου Σεπτιμπίου
 Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβ[αστο]ῦ. Παῦ[ν]ι ιζ.

To Isidora, castanet dancer, from Artemisia of the village of Philadelphia. I wish to engage you with two other castanet dancers to perform at the festival at my house for six days beginning with the 24th of the month Payni according to the old calendar, you to receive as pay 36 drachmas for each day, and for the entire period 4 artabas of barley and 20 pairs of bread loaves; and whatsoever garments or gold ornaments you may bring down, we will guard these safely; and we will furnish you with two donkeys when you come down to us and a like number when you go back to the city.

Year 14 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Payni 16.

1. This is the first appearance of the Greek form κροταλιστρία. *P. Oxy.* III 475. 18 (182 A.D.). has the third declension form κροταλιστρία. But cf. the forms ὀρχηστρία for "dancer" in *P. Grenf.* II 67, αὐλήτρια in *Diog. Laert.* 7. 62 (= αὐλητρίς), and the *crotalistris* Phyllis of Propertius IV 8. 39. κρόταλα (κρότοι, Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* II 4. 192) are "clappers" of some kind, which Clement distinguished from "cymbals." Cf. *P. Hib.* 54 (245 B.C.), where the musical instruments required for a festival are a drum, cymbals and castanets (τύμπανον καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ κρόταλα). Wilcken, *Chrest.* 494. 17n, is justified in his remark, "κρόταλα sind nicht Kastagnetten, sondern Klappern mit Schellen o. dergl." In view, however, of the general use of the word "castanet" as a clapper-like instrument, we consider the translation "castanets" as preferable to "clappers." See Daremberg-Saglio, s. v., which requires, rather than discredits, the translation "castanets." The bronze figurine of the dancer in the Fouquet collection reproduced by Perdrizet, l. c., holds in each hand castanets, either of bone or of shells, or possibly of terra cotta. They are quite large, completely filling the hand.

2. The name of the first party of the contract, Artemisia, has become dim. The ending ιη has appeared before; Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, s. v.

4, 5. σὺν ἑτέραις κροταλ[ισ]τρίαις β, as read by Kraemer, is to be substituted for the original reading in *JEA* X 134.

5. Read λιτουργῆσαι (Vitelli).

7. Comparison with the similar contract *P. Grenf.* II 67, ἀ]πὸ τῆς ἐγ Φαῶφι μηνός, makes the reading certain. Bell has kindly checked for us Grenfell's reading and fully confirms it. This provides another example of the late use of the old Egyptian *annus vagus* as opposed to the fixed year introduced into Egypt by Augustus, with its intercalated day in each fourth year; cf. *P. Grenf.* II 67. 10n.

8. λαμβανόντων ὁμῶν: the masculine form of the participle is also used in *P. Grenf.* II 67, although there, too, the parties of the second part, the two dancers, are women. The use of the masculine may, we believe, have some technical legal explanation and is not to be regarded as a mistake for λαμβανουσῶν as the editors of *P. Grenf.* assumed.

9. ὕπερ παρ.

10, 11. ὁ[πῆ]ρ πασῶν τῶν ἡμε[ρ]ῶν, as read by Kraemer, in place of the original reading.

11. Wilcken in reprinting *P. Grenf.* II 67 (= *Chrest.* 497) found the reading πυροῦ ἀπράβας (l. 14) uncertain. Bell later reread it as πυροῦ (see *BL* I 190). The payment of barley in our contract follows the money payment (also 36 drachmas per day in *P. Grenf.* II 67) just as the wheat payment does in the Grenfell contract. There is no reason to doubt the reading πυροῦ of Grenfell-Hunt and Bell.

12. For ἄρτων ζεύγη as "pairs of bread loaves" see Wilcken, *Ost.* 755-757. The twins of the Serapeum (*P. Lond.* XIV 22 f.) were to receive eight loaves per day, i. e., four pairs. The amount which the three dancers receive in our document, 20 pairs of bread loaves for 6 days, or $3\frac{1}{3}$ pairs per day, is only a little less. Evidently this payment and the barley (also the wheat and ψωμία in *P. Grenf.* II 67) are in lieu of "keep" or food for the six days. Ψωμία developed the meaning of ἄρτος in late Roman and Byzantine times, Reil, *Beitrage* 157. ὁ[σα] δὲ εἰν, suggested by Hunt and Kraemer, is certainly correct. Westermann had read incorrectly in *JEA* X 134 ζεύγη καὶ εἰφ' ὅ δὲ εἰν.

13. κατενέγκηται for κατενέγκητε, as frequently. Suggested by Bell, Hunt, and Vitelli.

The ἱμάτιον of the dancer figurine published by Perdrizet, *l. c.*, is of a fine transparent linen showing the forms of torso and legs. The breasts are naked.

16, 17. κατερχομένοις . . . ἀνερχομένοις. Cf. the regular use of καταβαίνειν, "to go down" to a village from a city, and of ἀναβαίνειν, "to go up" into the city from a village. Wilcken, *Chrest.* 495.

21. Εὐφροβοῦς is Kraemer's correction of the original reading by Westermann, Παρθινοῦ.

10. LEASE OF FARM LAND WITH DATE PALMS

Philadelphia

8 1/2 x 3 1/2 in.

119 A. D.

In this document a certain Lucius Vettius, whose last name is lost, proposed to Lucius Longinus Fronto that he would lease 1 1/2 arourae of farm land containing some date palms. In making the contract Frontinus Apella acted as agent for Fronto. Throughout the body of the contract Apella, the agent, is the person addressed and it was he who signed the offer to lease in behalf of Fronto. Most frequently the land leases of the Roman Empire contain a clause in which the payment of the taxes upon the farm is definitely assumed by one or the other party to the contract, customarily by the landowner. Where, as here, no mention is made of the taxes, they of course fall ultimately upon the landowner, though they may be exacted directly from the man who works the land.

From the agricultural standpoint it is worth noting that the fruit had already appeared on the date palms on Mesore 30th (August 28th), several months ahead of the planting season for grains. The dates would be ripe in Phaophi or Athyr (October or November, cf. Schnebel, *Landw.* 298), as one may judge from the receipts made out for persons who had bought dates from the imperial domains. Out of the fifteen ostraka receipts given by Wilcken, for purchases of dates, ὑπὲρ τιμῆς φοίνικος or δηροσίου φοίνικος (see Wilcken, *Ost.* I 310 ff.), ten are dated in these two months. The fact that the dates ripened at this period explains the provision (ll. 10, 11) that the lease was to run "for four years, namely four fruit crops and four sown crops," and the careful regulation that fruits hanging on the palm trees at the signing of the lease were to count as the fruit harvest of the first year. Cf. *P. Hamb.* 5 intro. Wilcken has pointed out that in the ostraka receipts the date-harvest of Athyr and Choiak is officially referred to as being of the *previous* year (*Ost.* I 311). The form of statement in this lease eliminates the possibility of misunderstanding as to the ownership of the date crop of the fifth year, which would be growing upon the palm trees when the peasant lessee

handed back the farm to its owner, Fronto, on the expiration of the lease. This explanation applies also to the similar leases of palm groves, *BGU* II 603 and *CPR* I 45, and to the following lease, 11.

- Λουκίῳ Λογγεῖνῳ Φρ[όν]τωνι·
 διὰ Φροντίνου Λογγεῖνου Ἀπέλλα
 παρὰ Λουκίου Οὐεττ[ί]ου Ὁ[.]τεαρ()
 βούλομαι μισθώσασθαι παρὰ σου
 5 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῷ Φρόντωνι
 περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν γῆς ἄρουραν
 μίαν ἡμισυ ἐν ἡ φοίνικες
 σποράδεις οὓς ἂν φύοι νῦν, καὶ ἀδι-
 αίρετον ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν τριῶν
 10 εἰς ἕτη τέσσαρα, καρποὺς τέσ-
 σαρες, σπόρους τέσσαρες, τοὺς
 μὲν φοίνικες ἀπασῶν ἐπι-
 κειμένων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 γ (ἕτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ [κ]υρίου
 15 ἐκπειπόντων εἰς τὰ δ'
 ἕτη καρπῶν, τὸ δὲ ἕδαφος
 ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰσιόντος δ (ἕτους), φόρου τοῦ
 τε ἐδάφους καὶ φοινείκων κατ' ἕ-
 τος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατ[ὸν]
 20 εἴκοσι ἀνυπολόγων καὶ ἀκιν-
 δύνων, τῶν ἔργων γ[ι]νομένων
 πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν μεμισθω[μένον],
 καὶ τὸν [προκ]είμενον φόρον
 ἀποδώσ[ω] μ[.]πον [..] τοισχ()
 25 ...[.]...[.]δ[.]ραχμῶν τεσσαράκοντα,
 τὰς δ[ὲ] λοιπὰς δραχμῶν
 ὀγδοήκοντα μηνὶ [...].
 μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώ-
 σω ἀπὸ συνκομιδῆς ἑὰν
 30 φαίνεται μισθῶσαι. 2nd h. Λούκιος
 Λογγεῖνος δι' Ἀπ[έ]λλα μεμίσ-
 θω[α] ἐπὶ τοῖς προκειμέ-
 νοις πᾶσι καθὼς πρόκειται.
 ἕτους τρίτου Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ
 35 κυρίου Μεσορῆ λ.

11. τέσσαρες. 12. φοίνικας. 15. ἐκπειπόντων. 18. φοινίκων.

To Lucius Longinus Fronto, through Frontinus Longinus Apella, from Lucius Vettius . . . I wish to lease from you one and a half arourae of land near Philadelphia belonging to Fronto, in which are scattered date palms whatsoever he may now be growing, the land being also an undivided portion of a three aroura plot, for four years, namely four fruit crops, four sown crops, (reckoning) the date palms on the basis that all the hanging fruits of the present 3rd year of Hadrian Caesar our lord are included in the 4 years' crops, and the farm plot as (leased) from the coming 4th year, the rent of the farm land and the date palms to be one hundred and twenty drachmas annually without deductions and without risk, the farm labors resting upon me, the lessee. And I will pay the rent as follows, in . . . forty drachmas, and the remaining eighty drachmas in the month of . . . And at the end of the time I will hand back the farm plot after the harvest, if it is agreed to make the lease. 2nd hand. I, Lucius Longinus, through Apella, have made the lease on all the foregoing conditions as laid down above. Year 3 of Hadrian our lord, Mesore 30th.

2. For the genitive 'Απέλλα see Chr. Döttling, *Die Flexionsformen lateinischer Nomina in den griechischen Papyri und Inschriften* (Lausanne, 1920), p. 23.

3. The initial ο of the name Vettius is written over an original λ. Evidently the writer's eye had caught the λ of Λογγεῖνου which is just above it in l. 2, and he had made a false start.

10-17. The lessee is to pick the fruit during the years 119-122 and reap the grain during the years 120-123 A. D. For ἐπικειμένων . . . ἐκπειπόντων cf. CPR I 45. 9, 10, BGU II 603. 7-9, P. Hamb. 5. 8.

24. The month of the first payment must have appeared here, probably Athyr or Choiak; but we cannot recover it. In BGU II 603 the rent was paid in Hadrianus (= Choiak), and the first rent payment of CPR I 45 was in the same month.

27. The month lost in the lacuna may have been either Pachon or Payni. In CPR I 45 the rent of the sown crops was to be paid in Payni. Normally the harvest period was in April and May (Pharmouthi and Pachon, see Schnebel, *Landw.* 164), which would be followed shortly by the rent payments.

11. APPLICATION FOR A LEASE

Philadelphia

9 x 5 in.

Early third century

This offer to lease is similar to the preceding one, except that it is not completed by the signature of the landowner. The surface of the papyrus is damaged and the writing crude, making the reading difficult. The same distinction is made between the palm grove and the farm plot (ἔδαφος) as in 10, and there is the same clause specifically including in the four-year period of the lease the ripening crop of dates. The taxes and other state burdens are to fall, as we understand 11. 21-23, upon the landowner, with a provision that he will furnish the required amount to the lessees each year for meeting these burdens. This implies that the government here, as in many other cases, actually collected the taxes directly from the peasants. Waszynski's rule (*Bodenpacht* 115 and note) that the state taxes and other state burdens rested upon the lessor may be true in theory, but the matter needs a deeper investigation with reference to the new material, and with a sharp distinction made between the theoretical incidence of the taxes and the actual collection. The fact that the landowner in this case seems to have lived in Alexandria may account for the unusual requirement that he furnish the necessary amount for the taxes to the lessees. In the case of the remaining "burdens" (δημόσια), the lessor would have to supply the amount necessary to hire laborers to do the dike work, etc., or pay the lessees for doing it. For a similar incidence of τῆς γῆς δημοσίων καὶ συνταξέω[v] see PSI VII 739. 12, 13.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενομένῳ πρ(εσβευτῇ) τῆς
 λαμπροτάτης πόλ(εως) τῶν Ἀλεξανδρίων διὰ
 Ἀμάσει(ως ?) Πω[...].ει.τρ.()
 παρὰ Πύρκωνος Γεμείνου καὶ Δείου Σαραπάμμω-
 5 νος τοῦ Καμ[...]. βουλόμεθα μισθώσασθαι
 παρὰ σοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχουσῶν σοι περὶ κώ-
 μην Φιλαδέλφειαν φοινικῶνος ὑποσπειρο-
 μένου ἐν χέρσῳ ἀρούρας πέντε καὶ τῆς γι-
 10 τν..ούσης γῆς μαμ[...]. ἀρούρης μιᾶς,
 τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ [ἀρ]ούρας ἑξ ἧ ὅσαι ἐὰν ᾧσιν
 εἰς ἕτη τέσσαρα πιπτοπωπιευνπελ
 λεγομένου, τοῦ μ[ἐ]ν φοινικῶνος ἀπασῶν ἐπικι-
 μένων τοῦ διεληλυθότος ιβ (ἕτους) ἐκπιπτόν-
 15 των εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἕτος καρπῶν, τὸ δ' ἔδα-
 φος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ιγ (ἕτους), φόρου τοῦ
 παντὸς ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν ἑκατόν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ λοι-
 πὰ ἕτη τρία κατ' ἕτος ἕκαστον δραχμῶν
 διακοσίων, τῶν δὲ ἔργων πάντων ὄντων
 20 πρὸς ἡμᾶς [τοῦς] μεμισθωμένους, τῶν δὲ
 δημοσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς σε
 τὸν Αὐρήλιον Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ παρέξεις δὲ ἡμῖν
 κατ' ἕτος ἕκαστον.

*To Aurelius Apollonius formerly elder of the most illus-
 trious city of the Alexandrians through Amasis son of
 Po . . . ; from Pyrcon son of Geminus and Dios son of
 Sarapammon, grandson of Cam . . .*

*We wish to rent from you from the land which you own
 around the village of Philadelphia five arourae of a date
 grove sown beneath in dryland crops, and of the (neighboring?)
 land one aroura, making in all six arourae, or as much as
 they may be, for four years . . . , renting the date grove on*

[The page contains approximately 20 lines of handwritten text in a cursive script, which appears to be a historical form or document.]

the basis that all the hanging fruits of the past 12th year are included with the present year of crops, but that the farm land (is leased) from the present 19th year, the rent of the whole for the first year being one hundred drachmas of silver, for the remaining three years two hundred drachmas each year, all the farm labors resting upon us the lessees, all the public burdens resting upon you, Aurelius Apollonius, and you will furnish (these) to us each year.

9. Probably either γειτνειούσης (for γειτνεοῦσης, cf. BGU 775. 15), or γειτνίας (= γειτνίας) οὔσης, for which see references in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s. v.

10. Cf. *P. Flor.* 16. 9, ἥ ὅσε ἐὰν ᾖ.

11. Despite the unusual position, we think it possible that the locality of the plots is here designated. Cf. CP⁴ 45. 6, ἐποικίῳ Πιτάνι λεγομ(ένῳ).

12. Read τὸν μὲν φοινίκωνα, ἐπικειμένον.

21. τὰ δημόσια: the term is inclusive, meaning both taxes and liturgies, Wilcken, *Ost.* 178; Oertel, *Liturgie* 6.

22. παρέξεις: we would supply ταῦτα, referring to τὰ δημόσια. As this is chiefly a date grove, we cannot conceive that the lessor is to furnish seed for the ἔδαφος. In such cases, where seed is furnished by the lessor, the amount is usually fixed. See references in Waszynski, *Bodenpacht* 78.

12. SALE OF A SHARE IN A HOUSE

Antinoopolis

8 3/4 x 2 1/2 in.

282 or 283 A. D.

About a third of this papyrus, the central portion from top to bottom, has been preserved. It is a contract of sale between persons resident in Antinoopolis of part of a three-storied house. Two of these persons were Roman citizens, enrolled by phyles and demes in the city (ll. 3, 8, 9). The two Anoubions mentioned in the document must be distinguished as different persons: one (l. 3) belongs to the tribe Matidius, the other (l. 11) to the tribe Nervianus (see Kenyon's list of the phyles and demes of Antinoopolis in *Archiv* II 72). Parallels for the contract may be found in *P. Oxy.* XIV 1634 and 1696-1699. The mutilated condition of the papyrus is the more to be regretted because it is the second extant document dated in the joint reign of Carus and his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, the other being *P. Oxy.* I 55, dated Pharmouthi 12 of year 1 (April 7, 283 A. D.). The date of this contract is Choiak, or some time within the period November 27-December 23 of 282 or 283 A. D.

The following is a general analysis of the contents:

1. ll. 1-12, introductory formula of the contract, of the *δουλογία* type, owners of the property addressing the purchasers, who act, apparently, through a legal representative (ll. 7-12);
2. ll. 13-19, statement of sale of a portion of a house. A part of it seems to have been sold with furnishings (l. 17) and under separate provisions in another agreement (*κατὰ κοινὴν ἐτίσαν*, l. 18);
3. ll. 19-22, description of property;
4. ll. 23-25, sale price;
5. ll. 26-36, guarantee of title;
6. ll. 37-41 (second hand, in well-written uncials), signatures of parties of the first part, the vendors;
7. l. 42 (third hand, cursive), official attestation, possibly including the date.

We have not attempted a more complete restoration of the missing parts because the transaction was apparently complicated and the formula does not follow the general pattern of simple contracts of sale.

(ἔτους . Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κάρου καὶ
Μ[άρκου Αὐρηλίου Καρείνου
Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων] καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Νουμεριαν[οῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων

Καισάρων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυ]χῶν Σεβαστῶν μηνὸς Ποίαχ[about 19 letters
παρὰ 'Α]ρποκρατίωνος τοῦ καὶ Σ[

5 about 18 letters]αρχίου ἐν 'Αντινόου πόλει τῇ λαμπρᾷ
καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ

πόλει καὶ Αὐρηλίου 'Αν]ουβίωνος 'Ερμίνου Ματιδίου [
] Αὐρηλίοις 'Ερμαπόλλωνι Δε[
]iei βουλευτῇ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεω[ς
].ων φυλῆς καὶ δήμου τῶν 'Α[ντινοοπολιτῶν
10 κα]τὰ τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ἔθῃ ὥς κα[θήκει
]ουτου καὶ 'Ανουβίωνος Νερουῖα[νίου
πρ]ὸς 'Ερμαπόλλωνα καὶ 'Αρέτην [.....
ὁμολογοῦ-

μεν πεπραχέναι ὑμῖ]ν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ ἅπαντα χ[ρόνον

]ν εἰς αὐταὺς ἀπόκληρον θμ[ι]
15]ακολουθῶς ἢ ἔθετο διαθηπ[
].πι τρίτον δωδέκατον μέρος
]μέρους τριστέγου σὺν χρηστ[ηρίοις
].ω κατὰ κοινωνίαν ἑτέρα[ν
]τὰ μέρη τῆς ὅλης οἰκίας ἧς γε[ίτονες

20 νό]του δημοσία ῥύμη δι' ἧς εἴσοδος
]ὁδὸς Ποῖ ὥς χρημ[ατίζει], ἀπηλιώτο[υ
].ων Λυσίου καὶ ἄλλων α.ι.ο[

τιμῆς] τῆς συμπεφωνημένη[ς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀρ-
γυρίου Σεβ-

αστῶν νομίσματος δραχμ]ῶν χειλίων τετρακοσ[ίων

Fragment of a manuscript page containing dense, handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a medieval or early modern period. The text is arranged in approximately 25 lines, though the fragment is irregular and partially torn. The ink is dark, and the parchment or paper shows signs of age and wear.

25 οἱ προγεγραμμένοι Ἑρμαπόλλων καὶ Ἀρέτης
]μετὰ τὰ αὐτὰ..ταραχος[
 διὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κ]ρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν αὐτο[ὺς σὺν ἐκγόνοις
 μετα-
 λημφομένοις τῶν μερῶν] ὥς πρόκειται ἡμίσεως δωδεκ[άτου?
]ει τοὺς αὐτοὺς μετὰ παρα[
 30]ἐπιτελούντας περὶ αὐτοῦ κασ[
].ν τῶν πολ[ο]ύντων ἀρ[γυρίου
]. κ[αὶ ἐ]μοὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ .[
]ἐνου μερῶν .[.]ισπαραπο[
].μασιον τη[.....] καὶ τὰ ἄλλα[
 35]μαιαν τῇγ [....].ασιν κ[
]ης γεγεννη[.....].τηθ() ομ[
 2nd h.]αυκα[.....].α()πατ[
].και [.....] προκι[
]τὴν [τιμὴν π]λήρη κ[αὶ
 40]σπα[.....]σοκα[
]ἔγρα[ψα ὑπὲρ] αὐτῇ[ς μὴ εἰδυίας γράμματα.
 3rd h.]κειμαχει[

3. For Ποίακ read Χοίακ.

6. There are five demes known in the tribe of Matidius of Antinoopolis; see Kenyon in *Archiv* II 72. Restoration of the deme name is therefore impossible here.

7. There is an unwritten space before Αὐρηλίοις which sets off this line from the preceding portion of the document. The original indentation would have been the equivalent of about 20 or 25 letters.

11. There are four known demes of the Nervianian tribe. Kenyon l. c.

15. There is a diaoritical mark above the ἦ, and over ἦς in ll. 19, 20, thus: ἦ.

21. The names of the streets are not customarily cited in these descriptions of city property. We are in doubt, also, of the reading of δ in ὁδός.

42. καὶ Μεχεῖ[ρ] is possible.

13. SALE OF A FEMALE ASS

Oxyrhynchus

9 1/2 x 3 in.

288 A. D.

This document offers a close parallel to *P. Oxy.* XIV 1708 not only in content, form and wording, but also in the fact that both transactions occurred in the market of the Upper Cynopolite nome. The sale-price too is roughly the same: that of the female ass here 10 talents, that of the male ass in *P. Oxy.* 1708 10 talents 4000 drachmas.

For the form of the guarantee by the vendor, Aurelius Cornelius (ll. 19-23) to the vendee, cf. *P. Oxy.* XIV 1707. 12, 13, 1708. 15-17, and an even closer duplicate, with βεβαιώσεως . . . ἐξακολουθούσης . . . τῷ ('Αγαθῷ, the vendor) in *P. Oxy.* I 95, a contract of sale of a slave. The guarantee is understood by both parties to refer only to the transmission of a clear title of ownership to the new owner. It does not, of course, insure against sickness or accident. Cf. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.*, 35, p. 118 §3.

The papyrus is in good condition except at the ends of the lines, where the upper surface is torn off. The signature of the vendor is written in rough but clear uncials.

Αὐρήλιος Κορνήλιος Ἀτρή-
τος μη(τρὸς) θαήσιος ἀπὸ κώμης
Πενεύτου τῆς Διοσπόλεως
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου
5 Σαραπίωνος ἀπὸ τῆς
λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως χαίρειν.
ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέν[αι]

καὶ παραδεδωκέναι σοι
 10 ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς τοῦ Ἄνω Κυ[νοπο]λείτου)
 ὄνην θήλιαν πρωτο[β]όλο[ν]
 μυόχρωμον, τιμῆς
 τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 συμπεφωνημένων
 15 ἀργυρίου σεβαστῶν ν[ομί]-
 ματος τάλαντα δέκα,
 τάλ(αντα) ι, ἃ καὶ αὐτόθαι ἀπέσχ[ον]
 παρὰ σο[υ] ἐκ πλήρους,
 τῆς βεβαιώσεως πρὸς
 20 πᾶσαν βεβαίωσιν ἐξακολ[ου]-
 θούσης ἐμοὶ τῷ πεπρακό-
 τι διὰ παντός. κυρία ἡ πρ[ᾶ]σις),
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὁμολογῶ).
 ὑπατείας τοῦ κυρίου
 25 ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ β'
 Σεβαστο[ῦ] Ἐπιφ ιη.

2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Κορνήλιο[ς]
 παίπ[ρα]κα τὴν ὄνην
 καὶ ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμ[ὴν]
 30 πλήρην ὥς πρόκειται.

Aurelius Cornelius son of Hatres, his mother being Thæsis, from the village Peneutus of Diospolis, to Aurelius Apollonius, son of Sarapion from the renowned city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting.

I agree that I have sold and given over to you in the market of the Upper Cynopolite nome a female ass, shedding her first teeth, mouse-colored, at the price agreed upon between us, ten talents of silver of the imperial coinage, tal. 10, which also I there received from you in full, I, the vendor, guaranteeing (possession) in all respects forever.

The sale is valid, and in answer to the formal question I give my consent. In the second consulship of our lord Maximianus Augustus, Epiph 18.

2nd hand. I, Aurelius Cornelius, have sold the ass and have received the price in full, as stated above.

3. Πενεύτου: no village of this name is known to us.

4. For 'Απολλωνίου read 'Απολλωνίω.

10. For the Upper Cynopolite as a nome, not a toparchy, and distinguished by 'Ανω from the Cynopolite Nome of the Delta, see *P. Oxy.* XIV 1708.

11. Read ὄνον θήλειαν and in l. 28 also ὄνον.

πρωτοβόλον: the scribe's λ here, in τάλαντα (l. 17) and in ἐξακολουθούσης (l. 20) is remarkable. It stands on end and the middle stroke is a decided loop: λ. Noteworthy is the fact that the letter opens out in one instance to the right, in the other two to the left.

25. In his second consulship Maximianus was without a colleague. See *BGU* III 928.

26. For the position of Σεβαστοῦ cf. *P. Oxy.* 1708. 22, Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η καὶ Μαξιμίνου τὸ β Αὐγούστων Φαρμοῦθι η.

28-30. Read πέπραχα, ἀπέσχον, πλήρη.

14. PETITION REFERRED TO THE EPISTRATEGUS

Probably Fayûm

5 3/4 × 5 in.

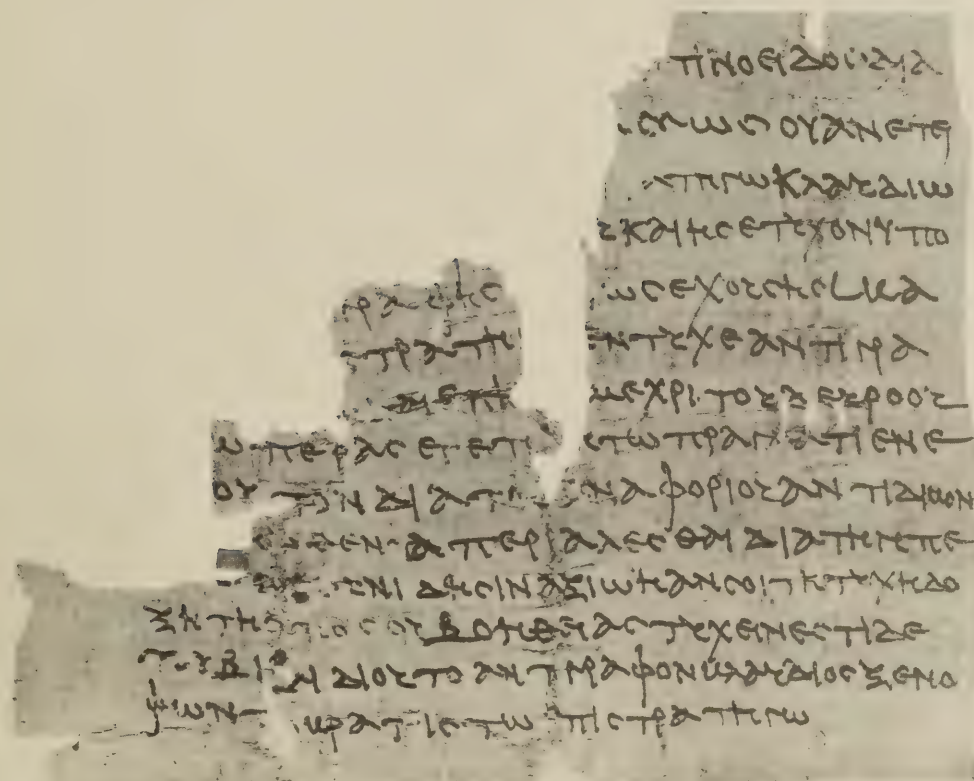
180-192 A.D.

This petition is complete except as the lacunae are indicated in the text. The script is the same throughout. Tiberius Claudius Xenophon is long since known as epistrategus of the Heptanomia in the period of Commodus (Martin, *Epistratèges* 183). The date of the notation of the prefect in l. 5, referring the case to the epistrategus, is the year 21 (180 A.D.), which tends to put the conduct of this case early in the principate of Commodus. From ll. 8, 9, however, it becomes clear that the litigation in question had been held up for some time.

The nature of the case, which was brought presumably before the prefect and referred to the epistrategus, does not appear. As we understand the contents of the document, the petitioner quotes the ὑπογραφή (l. 5), or recommendation of the prefect referring the case to the epistrategus. Possibly from the same letter the petitioner copies the advice given as to the further conduct of the case (ll. 5-10). There follows (ll. 10-12) the formal petition to the epistrategus. The whole seems to be a copy of the official correspondence which, together with a copy of the original petition (βιβλιδίου, l. 13), was designed to acquaint the epistrategus rapidly with the nature of the case when it came before him.

about 18 letters	]τινοειδος διὰ
about 15 letters	]σεωσουανεται
10-12 letters	τῷ ἐπιστρ]ατηγῷ Κλαυδίῳ
ξενοφῶντι ?	βιβλιδίου]υ καὶ ἥς ἔτυχον ὑπο-

- 5 μνήματος ὑπο]γραφῆς [οὔ]τως ἐχούσης· (ἔπους) κα
 τῷ ἐπι]στρατη[γῷ] ἔντυχε. ἀντίγρα-
 φόν ἐστι·] καὶ ἐπὶ ο[ὗν] μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο οὐ-
 π]ω πέρας ἐκετέθη τῷ πράγματι ἐνέ-
 χ]ου τὸν διὰ τοῦ ἀναφορίου ἀντίδικον
- 10 δηλ]ωθέντα περιαλέσθαι. διὰ τὴν πε-
 ρι]σσοῶν συνίδησιν ἀξιῶ, ἥάν σοι, τῇ τύχῃ, δό-
 ξῃ, τῆς ἀπὸ σου βοηθείας τυχεῖν. ἔστι δὲ
 τοῦ βιβλιδίου τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Κλαύδιος Εὐνο-
 φῶν. τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατηγῷ.



Lines 4-14. To his Highness, the Epistrategus, Claudius Xenophon (?) . . . and of the endorsement which I obtained to my petition which runs as follows: "Year 21. . . . Appeal to the epistrategus." Following is a copy: "And since, then, up to the present no limit has been set for the case, hold liable the man named as defendant in the accusation, who, as has been shown, is heavily involved." Because of my complete consciousness of right I beg that I may receive aid from you, if it seem best to your Eminence.

Appended is a copy of the petition.

Copy of signature. Claudius Xenophon.

Copy of address. To his Highness, the Epistrategus.

2. The remnant of the first letter visible in this line may be read either as α or η.

4. Cf. *P. Oxy.* VII 1032. 3-5, οὐδέ ἐπέδομεν οὐδολου[σέω Μ]ακτιανῷ τῷ ἡγεμονεύσαντι βιβλιδίου καὶ ἧς ἐτύχομε[ν] ὑπογραφῆς ἐστὶν ἀντίγραφον.

The doubt expressed in the text regarding restoration of the name of Claudius Xenophon was raised by the appearance of his name in ll. 13-14 in the nominative followed by τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατηγῷ.

6. The month and day probably appeared at the beginning of this line as in *BGU* II 614. 18: καὶ ἔτυχ[ον] ὑπογραφῆς] οὕτως ἐχούσης. (ἔτους) καὶ Χοίρα λ. εἴ τι δίκαιον ἔχεις.

7. For ἐπί read ἐπεί.

8. ἐνέχ[ι]λου: cf. ἐνέχεσθαι, *P. Oxy.* VII 1032. 23.

11. Read συνείδησιν. The title ἡ τύχη may be applied to the prefect as in *P. Teb.* II 326. 13, or to the epistrategus as in *P. Oxy.* VII 1021. 54.

13, 14. We have indicated in the translation and by the punctuation our understanding that this is an authorized copy taken, probably by the plaintiff, from the petitions published by the prejeot's order. This order is customarily given by the imperative πρόθεε or ἀπόδοε. Hence the copy here of the signature of the epistrategus in the nominative, and that of the address to him in the dative. See Wilcken in *Hermes* 55, p. 37 ff.

15. DECLARATION OF SHEEP AND GOATS

Theadelphia

7 3/4 x 3 1/4 in.

128-9 A. D.

The parallels for this document are *P. Oxy.* I 74, II 245, 246, XII 1458; *P. Amh.* 73; *P. Erz. Rain.* 74 (=SB 5277); *BGU* 133, all of which fall in the first three Christian centuries. The closest parallel, so far as formula goes, is *P. Oxy.* I 74 (116 A. D.), which alone resembles 15 in having the notation of the number of animals written at the top of the document.

There are four nomes represented by these declarations of small cattle: the Arsinoite, Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite and Heracleopolite. Absence of local peculiarities and the general similarity of treatment suggests that the administrative machinery in this particular type of registration was standardized throughout the nomes. The declarations (ἀπογραφαί) are addressed to the strategus (*BGU* I 133; *P. Oxy.* I 74, II 245; *P. Amh.* 73), to the royal secretary of the nome (*P. Oxy.* XII 1458; *P. Erz. Rain.* 74), to the strategus and royal secretary (15 below), or to the strategus, royal secretary and scribes of the nome (*P. Oxy.* II 246, with the variant of this address in *P. Oxy.* I 74, "to the strategus and to whom it may concern"). In practice, however, the peasants appeared before lesser officials such as agents of the strategus and royal secretary (*P. Oxy.* II 246. 27, 32), the toparch (*P. Oxy.* II 245. 23) or the record keeper (15, with which compare the report of the inspector of meadows, made to the βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων, in *BGU* I 478-480). According to an unpublished Rylands papyrus of the second

century a.c. (*P. Ryl.*, I, p. 314 ff.), the *topogrammatels* sent the declarations of the herds and flocks in their districts to a central office at Alexandria. On these reports (*Schnebel, Landw.* 317) some sort of general register of the cattle in Egypt was probably based. Such a summary register would presumably have included sheep and goats, although direct proof of this fact is lacking so far as we know.

All of the declarations with the exception of *P. Oxy.* II 245 (dated in the year 26 A.D.) have in common one feature of the proceedings which are incorporated in the formula of the declaration. The declarant stated how many sheep, goats, and lambs he had had registered in the preceding year. These are usually divided into the following classifications: sheep and goats (i.e. full-grown animals), lambs and kids (i.e. younglings). The sheep are again subdivided into male and female (*ἀρρενα* and *θηλυκά*, *P. Oxy.* XII 1458). This would seem to indicate classification according to age and sex, but in *P. Amh.* 73.5 (Hermopolite nome) the declaration groups the flocks according to kind, i.e. sheep and lambs, goats and kids. The classifications given above cannot, therefore, at least in the Hermopolite nome, be taken as the basis for a difference in tax rate determined by the age or sex of the animals.

The question of the nature and name of the tax paid on sheep and goats is difficult. The *φόρος προβάτων* seems to be not a tax, but a rent paid by a shepherd to the owner of sheep which he may be holding under lease (Wilcken in *Archiv* IV 533, and *P. Strass.*, 6, p. 30). The only indications known to us of a direct property tax on small live stock come from the two ostraka receipts, Wilcken, *Ost.* 1369 and Milne, *Archiv* VI 134 (both early first century), where the tax is called *προβάτων*. In the Milne ostrakon it is paid in kind. Indirectly, also, the government received

a tax on livestock through the ἐννόμιον or pasture tax. That the ἐννόμιον was closely associated with these sheep and goat declarations is proven by *P. Amh.* 73 in which the declarant states that he had sold a part of his flock to one Selene, daughter of Achilles, "who pays her pasture tax into the Lower Suburban toparchy."

The owner of the sheep and goats began his declaration by stating the number of cattle registered against his name in the previous year. The exception in *P. Oxy.* II 245 may be explained by supposing that the declarant in this case had bought his entire flock during that year. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that he declares no lambs as born in that year, but expects additions by birth in the following year (ll. 10-12, ἀναμένονται σὺν τοῖς ἐπακολουθοῦσι ἄρνασι). This mode of declaration presupposes that there was in the hands of the peasant either an explicit personal record of his flock as it was constituted when the former registration took place, or a copy of the declaration of the previous year. The purpose of this repetition of the previous year's record is a stricter government control.

Upon this follows a statement of the deductions occasioned either by death (*P. Oxy.* I 74. 14-16, of. XII 1458, *BGU* I 133) or by sale (*P. Amh.* 73. 7). The remainder is then given, the lambs of the previous year (Wilcken, *Ost.* I 283 n.1.), being listed with the grown animals as in this Cornell document (ll. 12, 13). To this total the lambs born within the year are then added. We happen to have no example of sheep purchased within the year; but wherever such purchases occurred, they would no doubt be recorded also at this point. Then follow the relative location of the pasturage of the flock and the name of the herdsman. This is the practice in all the declarations of which the lower part is

preserved (*P. Erz. Rain.*, p. 74; *P. Oxy.* 74. 21-24; 245. 10-20; *P. Amh.* 73. 12, 13; pasturage location and name of the herdsman may be lost in the broken l. 19 of our document). The fact that the location where the herd is pastured is regularly specified indicates that the pasture tax (ἐννόμιον) was directly connected with these returns, and, further, that it was assessed according to the number of the animals owned by each declarant (cf. *P. Ryl.* 213 note 9, p. 315).

Considering the limited number of the extant documents, the following conclusions upon the sheep industry in Egypt are to be regarded as a summary of the trend of the information rather than of proven statements of fact. Meat was unquestionably used as food in Egypt. This is shown by the frequent use of the words "meat" (κρέας) and "preserved meat" (τάριχος), as we are informed by W. F. Edgerton, who is making a special study of the cattle industry and pasture lands in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. See also Wilcken, *Ost.* I 397, and the "preserved meat" imported in jars in *PSI* IV 428. 69, and τάρικος alone in several places in the same document. The great dioecetes Apollonius imported into Egypt in 259 B.C. pickled meat and jars containing meat of the wild pig, evidently preserved (*P. Cairo Edgar*, 73. 38, 44, 52). We hesitate to assume, however, without direct evidence, that lamb and mutton were so used. Up to the present time we have found no indication in the papyri that sheep, goats or lambs were slaughtered for food in Egypt, as was so common in Greece.

The present indications are that sheep and goat grazing as an industry in Egypt was conducted for its returns in milk and wool (Rostovtzeff, *Large Estate* 107, 114, 115), possibly for sale as sacrificial animals, but not, on the whole, for sale as meat. The reductions in the flocks

occur through sale or disease (ἐξ ὧν διεφθάρη,¹ *P. Oxy.*, I 74, XII 1458, *P. Amh.*, 73). Either the flocks came through the year without harm or the losses by disease were very high. Out of 25 animals listed in *P. Oxy.*, I 74, 8 died during the year; out of 419 animals in *P. Amh.*, 73 a total of 127 died within a year's time. These figures suggest that sheep in antiquity were as highly sensitive to disease and as prone to decimation by epidemics as they are now (cf. Otto Keller, *Die Antike Tierwelt* II 328, Leipzig, 1909).

In Pauly-Wissowa, 2nd ser. I³ 378 (article *Schaf*) the writer expresses his belief that Egypt could not have had any wide-spread sheep-grazing industry. He explains the references found in ancient literature to sheep-raising in Egypt as applying to the neighboring lands, Aethiopia and Libya, rather than to Egypt itself. Our hasty survey of the papyri materials on the subject is sufficient to warrant rejection of this statement. In the Zenon papyri flocks of sheep and goats play an important role in the letters regarding Apollonius' estate and the affairs of Zenon himself. *P. Hib.*, 33 (245 s.o.) records a flock of 80 sheep; that of Anoubion in the Hermopolite nome (*P. Amh.*, 73, 129-130 A.D.), numbering 419 animals, is fairly large even from the modern stock-raising point of view. For a summary of the extant material on sheep and goats in Egypt in the Greco-Roman period, with conclusions similar to those expressed above, see Schnebel, *Landw.* 323 ff.

¹The verb for slaughtering animals would be σφάζειν.

- Θεαδ(ελφείας) πρόβ(ατα) κβ αἱ.γ(ες) β ἄρν(ες) δ
 Ἡρώδῃ τῷ καὶ Τιβερίῳ στρατ(ηγῶι)
 καὶ Ἀρχιβίῳ βασιλ(ικῶι) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοΐτου)
 Θεμίστου μερίδος
 5 παρὰ Πετερμούθιος τοῦ Ἡρ()
 τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφείας
 τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος. ἀπεγραψά-
 μην τῷ διεληλυθότι ἱβ (ἔτει)
 Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 10 ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἀ[θε-
 λικὰ πρόβ(ατα) κ, αἱ.γ(ας) β, ἄρν(ας) β.
 τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πρόβατα λείας εἴκο-
 σι δύο αἱ.γ(ας) δύο ἀπογράφονται
 εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς τρισκαίδέκατον
 15 ἔτος Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ
 κ[υρ]ίου καὶ τοὺς ἐ.....τασ.....
 ἄρν(ας) τέσσαρας ἅ καὶ μετέξω
 καὶ ἐπιμίξω ἑτέροις πρόβασι
 ων.....ε... Πετερμούθ()
 2nd h. Ἡρώδ(ης) ὁ κ(αὶ) Τιβέριος στρ(ατηγός) δι(έγραψε)
 Χαίρημω(ν) βιβλίο(φύλαξ) σεση(μείωμαι) πρόβ(ατα)
 ἀ[θ]ελ(ικὰ) εἴκοσι δύο αἱ.γ(ας) δύο
 ἄρν(ας) τέσσαρας. (ἔτους) ι]γ Ἀδριαν[οῦ]
 τοῦ κυρί[ου] 3rd h. Ἀρχ[ίβ]ι[ος]
 25 β[ασιλ(ικὸς) γραμματεὺς) διὰ Ἰσ[.....]ηθου σεσημ(είωμαι)
 προδ() λελ() ε[ἴκοσι] δύο αἱ.γ(ας) δύο
 ἄρ]ν(ας) δ μ[.....].

Theadelphia. Sheep 22, goats 2, lambs 4.

To Herodes also called Tiberius, strategus, and to Archibius, royal secretary of the Arsinoite, Themistes division, from Petermouthis, son of Her . . . of those from the village of Theadelphia of the same division. In the past

twelfth year of Hadrian Caesar our lord in the same village I declared 20 ewes, 2 goats, 2 lambs. I now declare a total of twenty-two sheep of the flock and two goats for the thirteenth year of Hadrian Caesar our lord, also four lambs, born later, which I shall share and join with the sheep . . . Petermouthis.

2nd hand. Herodes also called Tiberius, strategus, recorded (the registration). I, Chaeremon, recorder, have certified it: twenty-two ewes, two goats, four lambs. Year 13 of Hadrian our lord . . .

3rd hand. Signature of the royal secretary, through an agent.

1. As in *P. Oxy.* I 74, the docket heading the declaration is the summary for the current year. The two lambs born in the twelfth year (l. 11) were included among the full-grown ewes of the thirteenth year. See Wilcken, *Ost.* I 467, note 1.

12. For *λεῖα* as "flock," advanced doubtfully by the editors of *P. Hib.* 33. 10 and note 2, see *P. Frankf.* 5. 9 in *Sitzungsb. Heidelb. Akad. Phil.-hist. Klasse XI* (1920) 30.

13. Read *αἴγας* and cf. *ἄρνας τέσσαρες* in l. 17.

16. The thought is clear. *ἐπιγεγονότας* is no doubt meant, but we can read neither this nor *ἄρνας β*, which the sense requires.

20. *διδέγραψε*: in its original meaning, Wilcken, *Ost.* I 91, note 1.

25. Possibly *Ἰσ[... βο]ληθόν*.

26. Possibly *λελ()* may be read as *λεα()*, for *λεῖας* (cf. l. 12). This would suggest the restoration: *πρὸς(εὐη- λωμένης) λε(λ)α(ς) εἰκοσι] ὄβο*.

16. CENSUS DECLARATION BY HOUSE OWNERS

Arsinoe

18 1/2 x 8 3/4 in.

146-7 A. D.

Official copies of census returns of several house owners for the house to house census taken every 14 years. These were part of a roll which had at least four columns, presumably more. Of the first column only about 2 1/2 inches of the written portion remain, with a maximum width of about 20 letters. Inasmuch as the scribe's hand is the same throughout, the date of the copying of these reports cannot be earlier than that of the last census quoted. We do not publish the fragmentary end of col. I and the beginning of col. IV, as these offer nothing of value, other than that τοῦ ἀμφοδ(ου) Γυμνασίου appears in the top line of the first column, and τοῦ ἰδίο(υ) λό(γου) τῆς αὐ(τῆς) ημε() in the third line.

The general setting and explanation of these κατ' οἰκίας ἀπογραφαί is supplied by Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 192 ff., and Eger, *Grundbuchwesen*, where the literature on the subject will be found. For the metropolis of Arsinoe and the five town quarters mentioned here (the Gymnasium, Hawk Shrine of Apollonius, Sacred Gate, Moeris, and Apollonius Parembolē) see Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, in *Sitzungsb. der Wiener Akad.* 145 (1902) no. 4. The peculiarity of this roll is that it contains, written in the same hand, the following declarations: (1) by Philippiatote, of the residents in parts of two houses belonging to her in the Moeris quarter, declared for the census of 117-8 A. D.; (2) by her husband, Ploution, for the census of 131-2 A. D., of members of the same family living in a house owned by him in the quarter of Apollonius Parembolē; (3) by Isidora, for the census of 145-6 A. D., of residents in part of a house owned by her in Moeris quarter.

All the inhabitants, male and female, adults and minors, are given. This, combined with the fact that the reports are copied from three successive records of the 14 year census returns, precludes the possibility that the roll could have been used in making summary reports of those subject to the poll tax, or the like, such as appear in *P. Lond.* II 260 and 261 (pp. 42-61) and in *Stud. Pal.* IV 58 ff. The purpose for which these returns were copied, however, is not clear to us.

At the time of the census of 117-8 A.D. Philippiatote, the wife of Ploution, was herself enrolled in Moeris quarter (l. 6) in which her husband was still enrolled in 131-2 A.D. (l. 23). The house which she was declaring was also in Moeris quarter (l. 8). She addressed the declaration to the *πράκτορες ἀγροπικῶν*, and this declaration would necessarily go to the *πράκτωρ* of Moeris quarter, in which the house property lay, as the basis for the return of all dwellings in his quarter. See Wilcken, *Grundzüge* I 1, 194. But she reported the residents of the house to the amphodarch and laographus of the quarter of the Sacred Gate, because these persons had been declared there in the census of 103-4 A.D. (ll. 10, 11). The quarter of the Sacred Gate was their *ἰδία* until their names should be officially removed from its records. The declaration begun in l. 39 leads to the same conclusion. Isidora, owner of the house, and her husband are registered in the quarter of the Hawk Shrine of Apollonius, although the house itself is in Moeris quarter. She declares the residents to the bureaucrats of Moeris, not because the house was there, but because the residents were on the rolls there (ll. 46-48).

The residents of the house property of Philippiatote in 117-8 A.D. were a man named Socrates with his sister-wife Aphrodous, his mother, another sister, and an elderly paternal aunt. In the declaration of 131-2 A.D. this same Socrates and his sister-wife are registered, together with five children born within the fourteen years. They were living, however, in a different part of the town (the quarter of Apollonius

Parembolē) in a house owned by Ploution. Ploution reported the house as taxable property to Didas, πράκτωρ Μοήρεως, where he was still living (l. 21), but declared the residents, Socrates and his family, in the quarter where the house was situated (Ἀπολλωνίου Παρεμβολῆς . . . ἐν ᾧ ἀπογράφονται τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους ἐνοίκους, ll. 24-26), with particular mention of the fact, for the purpose of keeping the record straight, that they had been enrolled in the quarter of the Sacred Gate in the previous census. The quarter of the amphodarch Ptolemaus and the laographus Dios (l. 21) is not given, but there can be no doubt that they were officials of the quarter of Apollonius Parembolē where the return was handed in.

The analysis of the 14 year census returns which appear in our document suggests that one copy would go to the πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν of the quarter in which the house was situated as a declaration of the house itself, as property, and that another copy went to the officials of the census of persons in that quarter in which the residents of the house were enrolled upon the books (not necessarily the quarter in which they lived). Changes of enrollment from one quarter to another were evidently effected easily in a city, either by immediate notification at the time of the change (as in *P. Oxy.* III 479), or by the statement of such a change in the next 14 year census return, as here in l. 31. There is a similar case (*BGU* I 115 col. II = Wilcken, *Chræst.* 203) in a notification by a father that his daughter had been reported by him in the ἀμφοδοῦς Ταμείων fourteen years before, while in the current census she had been reported by her husband in the quarter of the Gymnasium. We differ slightly from Wilcken (*Ost.* I 446) in feeling that this is notification to the officials of both quarters that her name was to be removed from the register of the one and to be placed for the future on the register of the other, and that this notice is necessary, rather than "superfluous."

In the declaration made in 119 A.D. Ploution is called by his wife (l. 7) "oatoecus of the 6475"; and he declares himself in the same manner in the year 133 A.D. (l. 23). For this fixed number of the "6475 males of the classification Hellenes" in the Arsinoite nome, see Plaumann, *Die ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ ἄνδρες*. "Ἕλληνες 6475", in *Archiv* VI 178 ff., where the previous examples and a discussion are given.

fragments of col. I

Col. II

Εὐδῆμψ στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Ἡρακλείδου(ν) μερίδος
καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ τῷ κ(αὶ) Δ[ρύ]τωνι
βασιλ(ικῷ) γραμματεῖ τῆς αὐτῆς μερίδος(ς) καὶ Ἡρα-
κλείδῃ καὶ Εὐβούλῳ γραμματ(εῦσι) μητροπ(όλεως)
καὶ Ἡρακλείδ(ῃ) ἐξηγητ(ῇ) καὶ μετόχοις πράκτορσι
ἀργυρικ(ῶν) μητροπ(όλεως) καὶ
Ἡρώδῃ ἀμφοδάρχ(ῃ) Ἱερᾶς Πύλης καὶ Μάρωνι λαογ(ράφῃ)
τοῦ αὐ[το]ῦ ἀμφόδ(ου).

- 5 παρὰ Φιλιππιατότης τῆς Ζωίλου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου(ν)
θυγατρὸς(ς) κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογεγραμ(μένης)
δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπομνήματο(ς) ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Μοήρεως μετὰ
κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
Πλουτίωνος(ς) τοῦ Κόμωνος κατοίκ(ου) τῶν ζυοε. ὑπάρ-
χει μοι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
ἀμφόδου(ν) Μοήρεως (τέταρτον) μέρος (τετάρτου) μέρους
οἰκίας καὶ ἐτέρας [δύο μέρη?] ἐν ᾧ
ἀπογράφομ(αι) τοὺς ὑπογεγραμ(μένους) εἰς τὴν τοῦ
διελη(λυθότος) β (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ
κυρίου
10 κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρα(φὴν) ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἱερᾶς Πύλης
ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ζ (ἔτους) θείου Τραιανοῦ
κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) ἀπογρα(φὴν) ἀπεγράφησαν. καὶ εἰσιν
μεθ' ἐ[τ]τέρας
Ζωὶς Ἡρακλείδ(ου) τοῦ Σωκράτους (ἐτῶν) νγ καὶ
ταύτης υἱὸν

Σωκράτην Διοσκόρο(υ) ἐπικεκκριμ(μένον) (ἐτῶν) λβ
 ἄσημ(ον) καὶ θυγατέραν Ἀφροδοῦν (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 καὶ ἑτέραν θυγατέρ(αν) Ἀφροδοῦν γαμουμένην τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 15 Σωκράτῃ τῷ προγεγρα(μμένῳ) (ἐτῶν) κη καὶ τὴν τῶν
 προγεγρα(μμένων) περὶ Σωκράτην
 πρεσβυτ(έραν) κατὰ πατέραν τηθίδαν Ἰσαροῦν (ἐτῶν) ο.
 διὸ ἐπιδίδω(μι)
 κατακεχωρι(σμένῳ) στρ(ατηγῷ) καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι.
 (ἔτους) γ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου
 Φαμενώ(θ) κβ.

Πρωτάρχῳ στρατηγῷ Ἀρσι(νοΐτου) Ἡρακλεί(δου) μερ-
 ἰδο(ς) καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ βασιλ(ικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ) τῆς
 20 αὐτῆς μερίδο(ς) καὶ Μάρωνι γρ(αμματεῖ) μητρο(πόλεως)
 καὶ Διδᾶτι πράκτορι Μοήρεως
 καὶ Πτολεμ(αίῳ) ἀμφοδάρχ(ῃ) καὶ Δεῖῳ λαογ(ράφῳ) καὶ
 Ἀντωνεῖνῳ τῷ καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ προκεχι(ρισμένῳ)
 παρὰ Πλουτίῳ(νος) τοῦ Κόμωνος τοῦ Ἡρώνομος μη(τρὸς)
 Πτολλαροῦτο(ς) τῆς καὶ Πτολέμας
 τῆς Ἀπολλω(νίου) κατοίκ(ου) τῶν ζυοε ἀναγραφομένου
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδ(ου) Μοήρε(ως).

Col. III

...].ο[!...] δι' ἐα[υτοῦ ὑπομνήματος] ὑπάρχ(ει μοι
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
 25 Ἀπολλ[ω(νίου) Παρεμβολ(ῆς) [... μέρος οἰκίας ἐν] ᾧ
 ἀπο[γράφομαι
 τοὺς ὑπ[ο]γεγραμ(μένους) ἐνοί[κους εἰς τὴν το]ῦ
 διεληλ(υθότος) ι[ς (ἔτους) Ἀδριανοῦ
 Καί]σαρ[ο]ς τοῦ κυρίου κα[τ' οἰκίαν ἀπογ]ραφὴν ἐπ'
 ἀμφόδ(ου)
]ιστῶ(). κ[αί εἰσιν
 Σωκράτης Διοσκό[ρου ἐπικεκκριμ(ένος) (ἐτῶν) μς ἄσημος
 30 καὶ τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα]ν δ.υ.[.] αὐτοῦ λαογρ(αφου-
 μένην) γυν(αῖκα) καὶ ὁμο[μητρίαν]

ἀδελφὴν Ἀφροδοῦ[ν] (ἐτῶν) μβ
 ἀμφοτέρους ἀπογεγραμ(μένους) τ[ου]οῦ β (ἔτους) ἐπὶ
 Ἱερᾶς Πύλ[ης]
 καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀλλήλω(ν) τέκνα Διόσκορον ἀναγεγ(ραμμένον)
 ἐν ἐπιγεγεννημένοις (ἐτῶν) ιβ
 καὶ Ὀνήσιμ(ον) ἀναγεγρ(αμμένον) ἐν ἐπιγεγεννη(ένοις)
 (ἐτῶν) ι
 35 καὶ Ἀσκληᾶν ἀναγεγρ(αμμένον) ἐν [ἐ]πιγεγεννη(ένοις)
 (ἐτῶν) η
 καὶ θυγατέραν Ζωιδοῦν (ἐτῶν) ς καὶ Ἡραΐδα (ἐτῶν) β.
 δ(ιδὸ) ἐπ(ιδίδωμι)
 κατακεχ(ωρισμένῃ) στρα(τηγῷ) καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι.
 (ἔτους) ιζ Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπεῖφ κῆ.

Μαξιμῷ τῷ κ(αὶ) Νεάρχῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ
 βασιλ(ικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 40 Ἀρσι(νοῦ) Ἡρακλείδου(ν) μερίδου(ς) καὶ Σαβεῖνῳ καὶ
 Ἀντωνεῖνῳ γραμματ(εῦσι)
 μητροπ(όλεως).
 παρὰ Ἰσιδώρας τῆς Ἡρωνος τρίτου τοῦ Ἡρωνος
 μητ(ρός) Ἰσιδώρας
 τῆς Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου) ἀναγεγραμμένης καὶ ἀπογεγραμ(μένης)
 δι' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπομνήματο(ς)
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ἀπολλωνίου Ἱερακλείου μετὰ κυρίου
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς [ς] Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου)
 45 τοῦ Ἀσκληπ(ιάδου). ὑπάρχει μοι ἐπ' ἀμφόδου
 Μοήρεω[ς] (τέταρτον) μέρος οἰκ[ίας] καὶ αὐ[λῆς]
 ἐν ᾧ ..οσι ἀπογράφου(αι) ἐνοίκους εἰς τὴν τοῦ
 διελ[η]λυθό[τος] θ (ἔτους)
 Ἀ[ντ]ωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κ[υρ]ίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν)
 ἀπογρ[αφὴν] α. [about 10 letters
 ἐφ' οἷ] καὶ τῇ τοῦ ις (ἔτους) Ἀδρια[νοῦ] ἀπογ(ραφῇ)
 ἀπεγράψ[αν]το [about 16 letters

slight fragments of another column

Col. II

To Eudemus, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Heracleid division, and to Hermaeus, also called Dryton, royal secretary of the same division, and to Heraclides and Eubulus, secretaries of the metropolis, and to Heraclides, chief, and his fellow collectors of money-taxes of the metropolis, and to Herodes, amphodarch of the quarter of the Sacred Gate, and to Maron laographus of the same quarter:

From Philippiatote, daughter of Zoilus son of Apollonius, enrolled in the house to house census on her own memorandum in the quarter Moeris with her legal representative, her husband Ploution son of Comon, catocus of the 6475. I own in the same quarter Moeris a fourth part of a fourth share of a house and two-thirds of a second (house) in which I declare the following persons for the house to house census of the past 2nd year of Hadrian Caesar our lord in the quarter of the Sacred Gate in which also they were returned in the house to house census of the 7th year of the divine Trajan. They are, including those in the second house, Zois daughter of Heraclides son of Socrates, aged 53; her son Socrates son of Dioscorus who has passed his examination, aged 32, without distinguishing mark; a daughter Aphrodous, aged 13; another daughter Aphrodous, married to her brother Socrates mentioned above, aged 28; and the elderly paternal aunt of the foregoing who lives with Socrates, Isarous, aged 70. Therefore I give in (the declaration) to the appointed strategus and to all the others. Year 3 of Hadrian Caesar our lord, Phamenoth 22.

To Protarchus strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Heracleid division, Hermaeus royal secretary of the same division, Maron secretary of the metropolis, Didas collector of Moeris, Ptolemaeus amphodarch, Dius laographus, and Antoninus also called Hermaeus, appointed official, from Ploution son of Comon son of Heron, his mother being Ptollarous, also called Ptolema, daughter of Apollonius, catocus of the 6475, enrolled in Moeris quarter.

Col. III

. . . on his own memorandum:

There belongs to me in the quarter of Apollonius Parembola a . . . share of a house in which I declare the following residents for the house to house census of the past 16th year of Hadrian Caesar our lord, in the quarter of . . .

Socrates son of Dioscorus, of the selected class, aged 46, without distinguishing mark, and his . . . wife who is registered as his wife and sister born of the same mother, Aphrodous, aged 42, both registered for the 2nd year in the Sacred Gate; and their children, Dioscorus enrolled in the birth register, aged 12; and Onesimus enrolled in the birth register, aged 10; and Asclas, enrolled in the birth register, aged 8; and a daughter Zoidous, aged 6; and Herais, aged 2. Therefore I hand in the memorandum to the strategus appointed and to all the other officials. Year 17 of Hadrian Caesar our lord, Epiph 28.

To Maximus also called Nearchus, strategus, Heraclides, royal secretary of the Arsinoite nome, Heraclid division, and Sabinus and Antoninus, secretaries of the metropolis:

From Isidora daughter of Heron third, son of Heron, her mother being Isidora daughter of Asclepiades, declared and registered through her own memorandum in the quarter of the Hawk Shrine of Apollonius with her legal guardian, Asclepiades, son of Asclepiades. There belongs to me in the quarter Moeris a fourth share of a house and courtyard in which I hereby declare as residents for the house to house census of the past 9th year of Antoninus Caesar our lord (in the quarter) in which also they were enrolled in the census of the 16th year of Hadrian . . .

1. Eudemus held office as strategus of the Heraclid division of the Arsinoite nome from March, 119 A.D., onward. His successor in office was Claudius Didymus, who appears on July 10, 123 A.D. See Paulus, *Prosopographie* no. 522, and Martin, *Archiv* VI 156.

Δ[ρῶ]των: is restored with certainty from BGU III 706. 2, where Ἐρμαῖος ὁ καὶ Δρύτων appears as holding this same office. In July, 133 A. D., one Hermaeus was still holding this office in the Heraclid division (l. 19). Though the additional name Dryton is not appended, it seems reasonable to suppose that it is the same man. Cf. Martin, *Archiv* VI 164 note 4. The identification of Hermaeus, royal scribe of BGU III 915 (undated) is made more probable if we may conclude that our Hermaeus held the office for an entire 14 year census period.

7. κατοί(ου) τῶν ζυοε: the sign for 6000 is the customary ζ topped by a hook bending to the left. Cf. P. Giess. 60 col. III 16 (118 A. D.), where the numeral sign is quite the same.

8. There has been an erasure after ἐτέρας, leaving no trace except the evidence of a rubbed or scratched surface and a sign which we read as the stroke customarily made downward on the right of β to indicate the fraction 2/3.

11. After the misspelling ετρας the scribe crossed out τ and wrote in τε above the line.

13, 14. Read θυγατέρα. The accusative in ν is regular with this scribe, cf. πατέραν, τηθείδαν (l. 16), γυναίκαν (l. 30) and θυγατέραν (l. 36).

19. For this Protarchus, strategus of the Heraclid division, see Paulus, *Prosopographie* no. 921. Our document extends the known term of his incumbency of this office from August 28th of 129 to July 22nd of 133 A. D. Cf. Martin, *Archiv* VI 156.

21. Possibly the resolution should be προκεχ(επισημένους), meaning "appointed officials."

24. The missing portion at the beginning of the line is, no doubt, the name of a quarter of the town, but the ending does not suggest any quarter of Arsinoe known to us.

30. λαογρ() γυν() is a later insertion above the line, just after αὐτοῦ. There is no doubt in our minds of the reading λαογρ() which we take to be an error for ἀπογρ(αφομένην).

ὁμο[μητρίαν] instead of ὁμο[πατρίαν] seems preferable because Zois was recorded in 119 A. D. (ll. 12-15) as the mother of both Soocrates and Aphrodous.

32. In writing τοῦ the scribe made it look like ταν. Therefore the erasure and insertion of a conventionalized ου above the line.

39. For previous appearances of the strategus Maximus and of the royal scribe Heraclides we refer again to the useful doctoral dissertation of Paulus, *Prosopographie*, nos. 754 and 559.

17. CENSUS RETURN OF PERSONS AND PROPERTY

Ancyron Come

13 1/4 x 4 in.

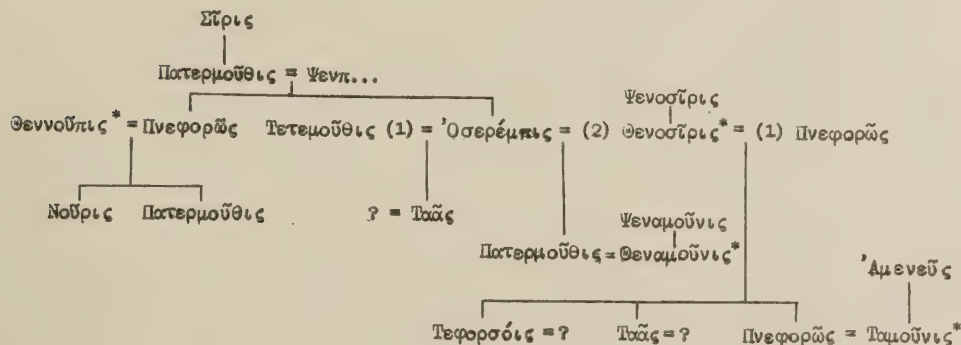
147 A. D.

The following document is an example of the householders' return made in accordance with the customary edict (ll. 5, 6; of. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 193 and *Chrast.* no. 202) of the prefect, announcing that the 14 year census was to be held. Lucius Valerius Proculus, the prefect, is already well known (Jean Lesquier, *L'Armée Romaine d'Égypte = Memoires l'Institut fr. d'Arch. Orient. du Caire*, XLI 513). The present document, dated March 8, 147 A. D., comes about a month and a half before the end of Proculus' term of office as suggested by Lesquier. Oserempis of the village of Ancyron ("Anchorage") declares a part of a house in which he and his numerous family live and the buildings in the village owned by himself and the relatives living with him. The address to the village scribe or to the *λαογράφος*, or to both (Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 195, and cf. *P. Amh.* 74, addressed to the village scribe alone), is lacking. This would imply a loss of two or three lines at the beginning of the document. The village of Ancyron in the Heracleopolite nome has been identified with the modern village *El-Hibeh* by Hilabel in *Philologus* LXXVII 422-425.

The declarant, Oserempis, already had one daughter, Taas (l. 13), when he married Thenosiris, who brought with her by a previous marriage a family of three children, Pnephoros, Tephorsois and the Taas of l. 25. They had one son, Patermouthis (l. 11), evidently married but a short time before the declaration was made, as his wife was 13 years old and they had as yet no children. Also living in the house with Oserempis were two nephews, Nouris and Patermouthis, sons of his dead brother. This household owned among them in the village a fairly large amount of property,

probably buildings (οἰκόπεδα, possibly "building sites," see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v.). In two cases the properties are given in as inherited from the parents of the present owners. This declaration brings additional proof of the fact established by Eger, *Grundbuchwesen* 181 f., that census declarations of persons served also as a check upon their real property holdings in cities and towns, and as here, in villages (cf. *P. Hamb.* 60).

This return is of the same year as the Oxyrhynchus census declaration 171 (republished in *P. Oxy.* II, p. 203) which also mentions the prefect Valerius Proculus. Names appearing in this document which are not found in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* are Ὀσερέμπις, Σίρις (gen.), Νοῦρις, and Θενοῦ(πις). For convenience we give a family tree of the house of the declarant, Oserempis. Women's names are starred.



It is worthy of note that in two cases the names of daughters are the same as those of their fathers with the first consonant alone differing (Psenamounis—Thenamounis and Psenosiris—Thenosiris).

about 2 lines missing

- παρὰ [᾽Ο]σερέ[μπ(ιος) Πατερ]μού[θ(ιος)] τοῦ
 Σίριος μη(τρὸς) Ψενπ[....]ωνος τῶν
 ἀπὸ κώμ(ης) Ἀγκυρῶ(ν). ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τ[ὴν
 θ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνεΐνου Καίσαρος τοῦ
 5 κυρίου κατὰ τὰ κειλ(ευσθέντα) ὑπὸ Οὐαλ(ερίου)
 Πρόκλου τοῦ ἡγεμ(όνος) εἰς τὸ ἐπιβάλλ(ον)
 μοι μέρος οἰκί(ας). εἴμι δὲ
 Ὅσερέμπις (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλ(ῆ) μήλ(φ)
 ἀριστ(ερῶ).
- 10 γυνή μου θενοσί(ρις) Ψενοσί(ριος) (ἐτῶν) νδ.
 Πατερμοῦθ(ις) υἱὸς μου (ἐτῶν) [...] καὶ
 γυνή (αὐτοῦ) θεναμο(ῦνις) Ψεναμο(ῦνιος) (ἐτῶν) ις.
 Ταᾶς θυγ(άτηρ) μου μη(τρὸς) Τεττεμούθ(ιος)
 ἀπογεγρ(αμμένη) ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδ(ρὸς) αὐτῆς.
- 15 Νοῦρις Πνεφο(ρῶτος) μη(τρὸς) θεννούπ(ιος) υἱὸς
 ἀδελ(φοῦ) μου τετελεσ(μένου) (ἐτῶν) λ οὐλ(ῆ)
 κ(ν)ημ(ῶ) δεξιῶ.
 Πατερμοῦθ(ις) ἀδελ(φὸς) τούτου (ἐτῶν) κς ἄση(μος).
 Πνεφο(ρῶς) Πνεφο(ρῶτος) μη(τρὸς) θενοσίριος
 20 υἱὸς τῆς προγεγρ(αμμένης) μου γυναικ(ός)
 ἐτῶν κς ἄση(μος).
 γυνή (αὐτοῦ) Ταμοῦνις Ἀμενή(ως) (ἐτῶν) ιη.
 Τεφορσόις ἀδελ(φῇ) τούτου ἀπογεγρ(αμμένη)
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδ(ρὸς) αὐτῆς.
- 25 Ταᾶς ἄλ(λη) ἀδελ(φῇ) τοῦ (αὐτοῦ) ὁμ(οίως) ἀπογεγρ(αμμένη)
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀ[δ]νδ(ρὸς) αὐτῆς.
 ὑπάρχ(ει) δέ μοι ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κώμ(ῃ) ἕτερ(α) οἰκόπ(εδα) δ
 καὶ τῇ θενοσί(ρει) γυναικ(ί) μου α
 τῶν γονέων αὐτῆς, καὶ Νοῦρι
 30 καὶ Πατερμοῦθ(ι) ὁμ(οίως) α τῶν γονέων
 αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁμ(οίως) Πνεφο(ρῶτι) Πνεφο(ρῶτος) καὶ
 τ]αῖς τούτου ἀδελφαῖς α. τού(των)
 αὐ]τῶν ἐν τῇ (αὐτῇ) κώμ(ῃ) ἕτερα.
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖ]ς ὁμνύω τὴν

- 35 τοῦ Αὐτοκρά[το]ρος Καίσαρος Τίτου
Αἰλίου Ἀδριαν]οῦ Ἀντωνεῖνου
Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσ]εβοῦς τύχην
.....]μ() θεονηρακ[.]α
.....] πόλ(εως) ἐπιδ(εδωκέναι) τὴν οἰκ(ίας) ἀπο-
40 γραφὴν κ]αὶ μηδ(έν) διεψεῦσθ(αι) ἢ ἔνοχος
εἶ]ν [τ]ῷ ὄρκῳ.
(ἔτους) ι Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ
Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
45 Ε[ύ]σεβ[ο]ῦς Φαμενῶθ ιδ.
2nd h. Ἀρ[α]β[ᾱ]ς διὰ Ἀφύγχ(ιος) φίλ(ου) σεση(μείωμαι).
3rd h. Ἀρψῆμις καὶ Παχνοῦβις διὰ
Σαραπίω[ν]ος φίλου σεσημειώ(μεθα).
4th h. Ἰσί[δωρο]ς Ψ... σεση(μείωμαι).

. . . from Oserempis son of Patermouthis son of Siris, his mother being Psenp . . . daughter of . . . on, resident of the village Ancyron. I declare myself according to the orders given by Valerius Proculus, the prefect, for the census of the 9th year of Antoninus Caesar our lord, in the part of the house belonging to me.

I am Oserempis, aged 50, scar on the left cheek. My wife, Thenosiris daughter of Psenosiris, aged 54. Patermouthis, my son, aged . . . , and his wife Thenamounis, daughter of Psenamounis, aged 16. Taas, my daughter, whose mother was Tetemouthis, registered by her husband. Nouris son of my dead brother Pnephoros, his mother being Thennoupis, aged 30, scar on the right leg. Patermouthis, his brother, aged 26, without distinguishing mark. Pnephoros son of Pnephoros, his mother being Thenosiris, my wife mentioned above, aged 26, without distinguishing mark. His wife Tamounis, daughter of Ameneus, aged 18. Tephorsois, his sister, registered by her husband. Another Taas, sister of the same, likewise registered by her husband.

There belongs to me in the same village a group of 4 buildings; also to Thenosiris my wife, 1, from her parents; to Nouris and Patermouthis likewise 1, from their parents; and likewise to Pnephoros son of Pnephoros and his sisters 1. (Belonging to) these same persons in the same village another group.

And on request I swear by the fortune of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius . . . that I have handed in the house declaration and have made no false statement. Otherwise may I be subject to the consequences of the oath.

Year 10 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phamenoth 14.

Official signatures.

1. The patronymic Πατερ[μ]ού[θ]ι(ος) is suggested by the son's name in l. 11.

3. Although the provenience of the lot of papyri in which this piece came is chiefly the Fayûm (Arsinoite nome), this village of Ancyron is probably to be identified with Ἀγκυρῶν in the Heracleopolite nome, which appears also in several papyri of the Roman period as Ἀγκυρῶνων, cf. *P. Hib. intro.* pp. 8-10, and *Philologus* LXXVII 422-425.

πρὸς τὴν θ (ἔτους): so. ἀπογραφὴν.

5. Read κελ(ευσθέντα).

10. When the abbreviated form of a personal name ends in τ, as in Θενοστ() and Ψενοστ() here, and Θενοστ() in l. 28, there is no mark of abbreviation. The same is true of Ἀφύχ() in l. 46.

15. Only traces of the ν in Νοῦρις remain. It is clearly read in l. 29.

17. κ(ν)ημ(φ) is doubtful. The first letter may be β.

23. The name is Τεφορσόις, not Τεφορσάις as in *P. Teb.* II 580.

18. DECLARATION OF CHILDREN FOR REGISTRATION

Oxyrhynchus

9 1/4 x 6 1/4 and 8 x 5 in.

291 A. D.

This document appears in the Cornell collection in two forms, in an official version with what seems to be the docket and summary of the record office at the end (ll. 25-30) and in a copy which lacks this docket. We give below the text of the original, with variant readings from the copy. The original, written by the declarant Aurelius Apion himself, is marred by bad spelling. Particularly noticeable is the doubling of the σ in πρὸς στό (ll. 10, 12, 14, 15). These mistakes are corrected in the copy, which is written however in a much coarser hand than the docketed original and is not in so good a state of preservation.

Aurelius Apion of Oxyrhynchus registers his two sons, aged 5 and 13, in the privileged class of those who are to pay 12 drachmas and are to be members of the gymnasium, stating that this is the first declaration of them. With their names he includes those of two daughters, aged 7 and 15 years (ll. 13-16). Noticeable is the lack of any statement that these girls are to be of the classification δωδεκάδραχμοί and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, which is explained by the fact that women were exempt from the poll-tax and hence from the ἐπίκρισις (Wilcken, *Grundzüge* I 1, 198 and ff.). Therefore the request (ll. 16-18) that "they be enrolled in the class of their equals" (αὐτοὺς ταγῆναι ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν τάξει) does not apply to the girls. The nearest parallel to our document, corresponding closely in place, form and date, is PSI III 164 (287 A. D.). The ages of the two boys of our document who are to be registered in the class of δωδεκάδραχμοί and booked for eventual examination (ἐπίκρισις) for inclusion among the ephebi are 5 and 13 years. This fact amply confirms the evidence of *P., Oxy.*, X 1237 and XII 1552 that primary registration (πρώτως ἀπογραφῆναι) might occur in any year of a boy's age, from the first to the fourteenth year. As suggested by the editors, the restored age [13] in PSI III 164. 13 is entirely uncertain.

A brief but clear discussion of these "financial examinations," as distinguished from the "military examinations," (the

"prefectoral" ἐπίκρισις of Jouguet in *Bull. de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*, no. 14, 1919) is to be found in Wilcken, l. c., with references to the previous literature. Our document merely brings confirmation of the material already extant on the privileged class of youths of Oxyrhynchus as distinguished from those of other cities (e. g. Arsinoë with its 20 drachma tax). It is the latest in date which has so far appeared.

It is to be understood that this is not the declaration of these two boys preparatory to the examination for admission into the 12 drachma and ἀπὸ γυμνασίου classes. In the case of the boy Philip this request must have followed within the year, as he was already aged 13. The declaration would have to include references to the census and tax records to prove that the father had been a δωδεκάδραχμος and that the mother was the daughter of a man of that rating. In the case of a freedwoman such status was obtained through the fact that her patroness was the daughter of a δωδεκάδραχμος (*P. Oxy.* III 478), or through the 12 drachma status of her patron.

- Αὐρηλίῳ Διογένει τῷ καὶ Ἑρμῖα συστάτῃ τῆς [λ]αμπρᾶς
 καὶ [λα]μπροτάτης Ὀξυρυνχειτῶν πόλεως [τ]οῦ ἐνε-
 στῶτος ζ' (ἔτους) κ[αὶ] ς' (ἔτους) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀπίωνος
 Φιλίππου μητρὸς Ἀπιάδος Ἀλθεως. βούλομαι πρώτως
 5 ἀπογραφῇν[α]ι ἐπ' ἀμφοδου Δρόμου Θοήριδος τοῦς
 γεγ[ον]ότας μοι ἐκ τῆς γενομένης μοι καὶ μετηλ-
 λαχεῖνς μου γυνεκὸς Τισοίτος Σαραπάμμωνος
 Εὐτυχίδου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς θατοῆτος, ἀπὸ
 τῆς [λ]αμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης[ς] Ὀξυρυνχε[ι]τῶν πόλεως
 10 υἱοῦ[ς] Αὐρηλίου Φίλιππον μὲν ὄντα πρὸς στὸ αὐτὸ ἐνε-
 εστὸς ζ' (ἔτος) καὶ ς' (ἔτος) ἐτῶν ιγ, Γαῖον δὲ ὁμοίως ὄντα πρὸς
 στὸ [αὐ]τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ' (ἔτος) καὶ ς' (ἔτος) ἐτῶν ε' ἄμφοτέρους
 (δωδεκαδράχμους) [ἀπ]ὸ γυμνασίου, καὶ Μελανᾶν τὴν καὶ Ἀνουβί-
 εναν οὖσαν πρὸς στὸ αὐτὸ ζ' (ἔτος) καὶ ς' (ἔτος) ἐτῶν ιε, Ταῖον
 15 ὁμοί[ω]ς οὖσαν πρὸς στὸ αὐτὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ' (ἔτος) καὶ ς' (ἔτος)
 ἐτῶ[ν] ζ'. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ἀξιῶν αὐ-
 τοὺς τ[α]γῆναι ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν τάξει ὥς κα-
 θήκει, καὶ ὁμνῶ τὸν ἔθιμον Ῥωμαίων ὄρκιον

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written in a dark ink on a light-colored, possibly parchment or paper, surface. The script is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is dense and fills most of the page, with some lines appearing to be part of a list or a series of entries.

- μὴ ἐ[ψ]εῦσθε//. (ἔτους) ζ/ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 20 Γ[αί]ου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ς//
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μ[άρκου] Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν [Μ]εγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυ-
 χῶν Σεβαστῶν, Ἐπίφ λ/. Αὐρήλιος Ἀπίων Φιλίππου
 ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὅμοσα τὸν ὄρκον.
 25 2nd h. Δρόμου Θοήριδ(ος).
 Φίλιππος (ἐτῶν) ιγ
 Γαῖος (ἐτῶν) ε
 Θ(υ)γα(τέρες) Μελανοῦς ἡ καὶ Ἀν[ουβ]ίαινα (ἐτῶν) ιε
 Ταῖος (ἐτῶν) ζ
 30 τέκνα Ἀπίωνος τοῦ Φιλίππου. πραγμ(ατευτῆς)
 Νουχεκίης

VARIANT READINGS OF THE COPY

1. Ἑρμεία. 2. Οξυρυχ(). 3. ζ (ἔτους)// καὶ ς (ἔτους).
 So also in ll. 11, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20. 4. Ἀλθαίως. 6. The
 second μοι is omitted. 7. μετῆλλαχυίης, γυναικός. 10. υἱούς;
 πρὸς τό as also in ll. 12, 14, 15. 13. γυμ(). 14. Ἀνου-
 βίαιναν. 17. τάξι. 18. Ρωλμαίων. 20. Γαίου. 23. Ἐπείφ.

To Aurelius Diogenes also called Hermias, nominator of the glorious and most glorious city of Oxyrhynchus for the current 7th year and 6th year, from Marcus Aurelius Apion, son of Philip, his mother being Apias, daughter of Altheus. I wish that my sons, born to me from my former wife, who is dead, Tisois, daughter of Sarapammon, son of Eutyichides also called Sarapion, her mother being Thatous, of the glorious and most glorious city of Oxyrhynchus, should for the first time be registered in the quarter of Thoeris Square—the Aurelii, Philip, who is in the same current 7th year and 6th year thirteen years of age, and Gaius likewise, who is in the same current 7th year and 6th year five years of age, both subject to the twelve drachma tax and members of the gymnasium; and Melanas also called Anoubiaina, who is in the same 7th year and 6th year fifteen years of age, likewise Taëus, who is in the same current 7th year and 6th year seven years of age. Therefore I hand in the memorandum, requesting that they be enrolled

in the class of their equals as is fitting. And I swear the customary oath of the Romans that I have made no false statement.

Year 7 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Diocletian and year 6 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Germanici, the Highest Pious and Fortunate Augusti, Epiph 30. I, Aurelius Apion, son of Philip, have handed it in and I took the oath.

2nd hand. Thoreris Square. Philip aged 13. Gaius aged 5. Daughters: Melanas also called Anoubiaina, aged 15; Taëus aged 7. Children of Apion, son of Philip. Signed. Noukekies, assistant official.

4. *πρώτως ἀπογραφῆναι*: the phrase is used for the initial registration both of persons (*P. Oxy.* X 1267. 10, *PSI* III 164), as here, and of property (*P. Teb.* II. 323. 7, cf. Mitteis, *Grundzüge* II. 1, 101, and Preisigke, *Fachwörter* 154). The interpretation of Grenfell and Hunt in *P. Oxy.* 1267. 10 n. is that *πρώτως* refers to the object or person declared for registration, as being now declared for the first time. Mitteis, *l. c.*, restricting his view to the declaration of property, thought that *πρώτως* referred to the declarant, as one who had never previously made a declaration (cf. Preisigke *l. c.*). The former understanding seems to us to be the correct one. The children of Aurelius Apion are in this document declared for registration for the first time. In the house to house census declarations of the preceding century (cf. 16 col. III) the statement was customarily made that such and such persons had been declared in a certain district in the preceding 14 year census. However, children born in the interval following the preceding census are separately listed as ἀναγεγραμμένοι ἐν ἐπιγεγενημένοις. The original declaration of such children corresponded to our *πρώτως ἀπογραφῆναι*.

10. *πρὸς στό* for *πρὸς τό*, as also in ll. 12, 14, 15. A case of gemination of *σ*, which is unusual in the papyri, though common in inscriptions. See Mayser, *Grammatik*, p. 217.

17. *ταγῆναι κτλ*: cf. *PSI* III 164. 15-17, *πρὸς τὸ ἀπογραφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν ὀμηλικῶν τάξει*.

28. There is a monogram at the beginning of this line which has become quite dim. With some slight hesitation we resolve it as *θ(υ)γα(τέρες)*. The *θ* is written above and slightly to the left of the *γ*, while the *α* is represented by a sweeping curve above the *γ*.

30. *τέκνα* used in referring both to sons and daughters. See *P. Oxy.* 1451. 25, 26 n.

19. DECLARATION OF GRAIN LAND FOR THE CENSUS OF 297 A.D.

Theadelphia

9 1/2 x 4 1/2 in.

298 A.D.

This document offers a welcome addition to the small group of declarations for the census taking of the period of Diocletian. One third of the papyrus is lacking on the left side, that is, at the beginnings of lines. At the top, in letters much larger than those in the body of the declaration, occurs the name of Septimius Sabinus and his official title *censitor*. The date appears in l. 13 where the reading is unquestionably ζ, and the restoration therefore [(ἔτους) ιε' καὶ ιδ' καὶ] ζ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν. This date (298 A.D.) is confirmed by the names of the consuls of that year, Faustus and Gallus (M. Junius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus, Pauly-Wissowa I 2199. 23, and Virius Gallus, *ibid.* VII 683, II).

A minor fact established by this dating is that Septimius Sabinus was in charge of the census in the Arsinoite nome in 297 A.D., as well as of the one held in 302 A.D. (cf. *P. Amh.* 83 and intro.; *BGU* 917. 6, and 20). In the land declaration published by Vitelli as *P. Flor.* 32(b) (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 228) Julius Alexander appears as head of the census in the Hermopolite nome in the year 297 when Sabinus was *censitor* for the Arsinoite nome.

This document is a primary declaration of land lying near the village of Theadelphia in the Themistes division of the Arsinoite nome. The land was privately owned and of the production category of "seed land" (σπόριμος), which Schnebel, *Landw.* 7, regards as practically identical with the inundated land (γῆ βεβρεγμένη). The plot here declared did not require a subsequent survey, being confessedly subject to the higher tax rating of grain producing land, with no claim to consid-

eration of any part as "dry" or "ownerless" land. It is to be noted that there is no indication of the compulsory assignment or voluntary acceptance, in the case of this landowner, of unoccupied land which has reverted to the state (ἀδέσποτος), such as appears so prominently in the two following documents.

- Σεπτίμῳ Σαβεῖνῳ κηνσίτορι
- παρὰ Αὐρηλίου]τος Νειλάμμωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Θεαδελφίας τοῦ
 Ἀρσινοΐτου)
- ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ προστάγματι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μ]αξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ
- 5 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων, φανερόν σοι ποιῶ κεκτῆσθαι με
 γῆς ἰδιωτικῆς περὶ κώμην Θεαδελφίαν ἐκ τῆς ὀγδόης τοπαρ-
 χείας
- ἀρούρας δύο.] ἐπὶ τῆς
- . σφραγεῖδος ἐν κλήρῳ Διαρούρου λεγομένῳ γῆς ἰδιωτικῆς
 σπορίμης
- ἀρ. δύο] ἄρ. β
- 10 ὧν γείτονες ἀπὸ μέ]ν ἀνατολῶν διῶρυξ μεθ' ἣν συνορία
 Πολυδευκείας
- ἀπὸ δὲ παρὰ κληῖρον ἡμῶν Ρούφου κτῆσ(ις).
 καὶ ὁμνυμι τὸν σεβ]άσμιον ὄρκον ἀληθῆ με τὴν ἀπογραφὴν
 πεποιῆσθαι.
- (ἔτους) ιε// καὶ ιδ// καὶ] ζ// τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
- 15 ἐπιφανεστάτων Κ]αيسάρων, ὑπατείας Φαύστου καὶ Γάλλου Χοΐακ
 ..]
- 2nd h. Αὐρ(ῆλιος) ἐπιδ(έδωκα)] καὶ ὧμοσα τὸν σεβάσμιον
 ὄρκον ἀληθῆ με τὴν ἀπογραφὴν
 πεποιῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐ(ψεῦσθαι). Αὐρ(ῆλιος) Ἀθανάσιος(ς)
 ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐ(τοῦ) ἀγραμμάτ(ου).
- 1st h. ἀπογράφ]ονται ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἄρ. β.

To Septimius Sabinus, head of the census, from Aurelius . . . son of Neilammon of the village of Theadelphia of the Arsinoite nome. According to the imperial decree of our lords the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most renowned Caesars, I declare to you that I possess two arourae of private land near the village of Theadelphia in the eighth toparchy. In the . . . division, in the allotment called The Double Aroura, two arourae of private seed land, total 2 ar., adjacent to which are: on the east a ditch, after which the contiguous boundary of Polydeucia; on the . . . , alongside my allotment, the property of Rufus. And I swear the imperial oath that I have made the declaration truthfully. Year 15 14 and 7 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most illustrious Caesars, in the consulship of Faustus and Gallus, Choiak . . .

2nd hand. I, Aurelius . . . , have handed it in and sworn the imperial oath that I have made the declaration truthfully and have falsified in no respect. I, Aurelius Athanasius, wrote for him, he being illiterate.

1st hand. There are declared 2 arourae of private seed land.

1. The three words are written in a larger hand than that of the body of the document, and so spaced as to stand at about equal intervals from each other.

8. κλήρῳ: supplied from *N. Y. Hist. Soc.* 389. 9, 12. A masculine form was demanded by λεγομένῳ.

Διαιούρου: as no proper name akin to this is known among the papyri, we have given the translation, "in the allotment called The Double Aroura." The form διάρουρον, if we are correct, would be like δίδραχμον from δραχμή.

10, 11. Cf. *BGU* IV 104. 9. 8 (4th century): ἀπ[ὸ] μ[ὲν] ἀνατολῶν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος δι' ὅλη ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν Κυριλοῦτος κτήσις. λιθοῦ or νότου can of course be supplied.

15. The final stroke of * ending Χοίακ was carried over in a long sweep to the edge of the papyrus. This necessitated writing the date at the beginning of l. 16.

20. DECLARATION OF LAND FOR THE CENSUS OF 302 A. D.

Arsinoe

8 ft. 4 in. x 10 in.

302 A. D.

Out of a long roll which in some places was badly carbonized and friable, and which consisted in good part of incomplete columns and a large number of miscellaneous fragments, we are able to present eleven columns of this register in a form almost complete. Several columns were intact in an excellent state of preservation, and on the analogy of these we feel confident that, with one exception noted below, all the fragments have been placed in their correct relative positions. Fortunately we had decided at the outset that it was necessary to photograph the entire piece including the fragments. The photographs, taken on panchromatic plates, came out exceedingly well, and in view of the fragile condition of the carbonized portions of the roll, have been of the greatest help to us in the reading.

The document contains eleven declarations of land for the census of the year 302 A. D., which was taken under the system of the fifteen year cycle inaugurated by Diocletian in 297. This cycle was arranged in three periods of five years each, as was established by Otto Seeck (see Wilcken, *Grundzüge* I 1, 219 ff., where the references will be found). The declarations which appear in this roll are all apparently of the same day (Thoth 26), this being the date preserved in five of the eleven columns, with a portion of the date in other columns. The eleven declarants are from Karanis, Arsinoe and New Ptolemais, but the plots declared are without exception about the village of New Ptolemais. The head of the census in the Arsinoite nome is the same Septimius Sabinus who had charge of the work in that nome five years earlier (see 19 intro.).

In combination with the land declaration published by Goodspeed in *Nél. Nicole* pp. 187-190 (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Inv. No. 389* = Wilcken, *Chrest. 229*) and *P. Flor. 32* (= Wilcken, *Chrest. 228*), our document gives an insight into the details of Diocletian's system of taking the census in Egypt for land tax purposes. In view of the repeated reference *N. Y. Hist. Soc. 389* here and in 21 we cite that document hereafter simply as *Hist. Soc.* The census was instituted in accordance with an imperial decree (θεῖα πρόσταξις here; πρόσταγμα τῶν δεσποτῶν in *Hist. Soc.*) which was sent abroad over Egypt by order of the catholicus (κατὰ κέλευσιν here; τοῖς προσταχθεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ in *Hist. Soc.*). The catholicus of the year 302-3 was Valerius Euthius, the same man who appears in that office in the declaration of *Hist. Soc.*, where in place of Εὐνείου (l. 8) the reading, as determined by our examination of the original, should be Εὐηθείου. The first step taken in the land census was a declaration made by landowners and landholders to the *censitor* of all the taxable land held by them, the γῆς ἀπογραφείσης ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνφ κηνσίτορι of our declarations. This primary declaration of all the productive land is exemplified by *P. Flor. 32*, in which the land is private grain land, and by *Hist. Soc. col. II*, in which the land consists entirely of seed land (= inundated land, Schnebel, *Landw. 8, 9*), both government-owned and "private" land. In our document the primary declaration had been made a short time before, as appears from the words ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφείσης (εὐρεθείσης in coll. II, V, XI) ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνφ κηνσίτορι. Just as *Hist. Soc.* proves that the seed land was declared at that time, so our document proves that the dry and the "ownerless" land (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφείσης ἰδίας μου καὶ ἀδεσπότου) were likewise reported in this primary declaration.

The next move was taken by the government officials. The land reported as χέρσος or ἀδέσποτος was checked over by the bureau of the landmeasurer (ἀναμετρητής). In our document this occurred in the month Thoth at the height of the flood

season. This would correspond to the ἐπίσκεψις of the pre-Diocletian period (Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 203 ff.). In the Roman period the annual official investigation (ἐπίσκεψις) confined itself to that land which during the year had been subject to some change in its productive capacity (Wilcken l.c.). So here the investigation of the landmeasurer evidently was designed to determine what amount of the land reported by individuals as "dry" or "ownerless" should actually be classified as seed land (ἐν σπορᾷ or σπορίμη γῆ). The peasant landowner or landholder was held responsible both for correct measurement and for declaration of the gain to the government resulting from the substitution of "seed land" for the "dry" and "tenantless" amounts primarily reported.

It is at this point that the action and report envisaged in 20 really take place. Accompanied by three recognized surveyors (γεωμέτραι, see Oertel, *Liturgia* 181), the peasant owner or tenant had measured the χέρσος and ἀδέσποτος portions of his plots which the government had designated as probably transferable to the classification of βασιλική γῆ σπορίμη. Note that in all these cases the landmeasurer had meantime "found" (καταληφθεῖσαν) that the land was seed land (ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν). Three village officials accompanied the peasant owner or tenant and the three surveyors. These were the boundary official (ὁριοδείκτης), the village headman (μίζων or μείζων τῆς κώμης) and the village chief (κωμάρχης). Upon agreement reached by them the tenant declared under imperial oath the amount of his land which was to be transferred from the classification of "ownerless" government land to the higher production category of "royal seed land" (with higher rate of rent, no doubt) or from the category of private dry land to that of private seed land (with corresponding increase in the land tax).

The question of central importance in this document is its bearing upon the suggestion of Wilcken (*Grundzüge* I 227) that *Chrest.* 229, which accompanies this document in a new

reading, is an example of ἐπιβολή or hereditary lease of government land forced upon the nearest landowners. All of the government land which appears in this roll was of the classification ἀδέσποτος, "ownerless," or in other words abandoned land, which in Roman times fell to the imperial household as *bona vacantia* (P. M. Meyer, *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld*, 150, 154). Attractive as Wilcken's supposition would be to explain the declarations appearing below, there are a number of objections which seem to preclude its adoption. The compulsory acceptance of uncultivated lands by the *proximi possessores* in this period had as its goal the cultivation of these lands in large units by the bourgeoisie of the cities (the *civitatum ordines*, according to the legislation of Aurelian, *Codex Just.* XI 59. 1, cf. Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat* 392, 393). The declarants of the register here published are, as proved by the size of their holdings, certainly small peasants. It is much more probable that we have in *Hist. Soc.* an example of state assignment of land to the villages (ἐπιβολή τῆς κώμης, see P. Hamb. I 62 and Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 58). But we find it difficult to accept, in the case of 20, even this explanation of ἐπιβολή τῆς κώμης. In our discussion of this point it seemed best to leave out of consideration col. IX, which is composed of numerous large and small fragments and offers a difficulty, as we have pieced it together, which we have been unable to resolve. We have noted that the public physician of col. III, the two sisters who are the declarants of col. IV, and the woman declarant of col. VII are all private landowners. But no "ownerless" land has been assigned them, and they offer no explanation of that fact. This objection might be met by a supposition of exemption from this burden for physicians and for women, as in the case of the childless widow in BGU 648 (164 or 196 A.D., see Rostovtzeff, *Kolonat* 198). Against such a supposition, however, stands the declaration of both private land and state land by the woman Theophania in *Hist. Soc.* col. II (= 20(a). 21-45).

It would also be difficult to explain on the basis of ἐπιβολὴ τῆς κώμης why the peasants Mystes (col. II), Patermouthius (col. V) and Appianus (col. XI) are holders of government land of the ownerless category, but declare no land of their own. Against the theory that we are dealing with an example of ἐπιβολή stand also the observations that the amount of "ownerless" land is rather large in some cases, and that this ownerless state land can be held by peasants in partnership, as in the case of Aunes (col. I) with Patermouthius and again with Achilles, of Patermouthius (col. V) with Aunes, of the declarant of col. VIII, and of Appianus (col. XI) with Atepsenes. This type of combined holding would surely be difficult to administer under a rule of enforced and hereditary lease.

The unusual relative amount of the "ownerless" state land which appears in 20 is certainly striking. As Wilcken's interpretation of *Chrest.* 229 (= *Hist. Soc.*) seems inapplicable as an explanation of our document, we offer the following suggestion. Egypt had been the scene of serious disturbance during the suppression of the revolt of L. Domitius Domitianus (Achilleus) in 295-6 A.D. In 302 A.D. the situation was so acute that Diocletian diverted a part of the grain which normally went to Rome for the relief of Alexandria (Milne, *History of Egypt*, 86, 87). For the census of the year 302 A.D. special inducements must have been offered to the peasants to take up abandoned government land. The nature of these inducements we cannot know. Their results, however, are apparent in this census roll.

The landmeasurers (ἀναμετρηταί) to whom the declarations are made regarding this land of changed classification are officials of the toparchies, Aurelius Alexander of 20 being in charge of the bureau of the single toparchy formed by combining toparchies four and five in the Heraclidean division of the Arsinoite nome; the two landmeasurers Sabinus and Hierax of *Hist. Soc.* controlling the land bureau of a single

toparchy of the Hermopolite nome called Upper Toparchy Near-the-City. They were bureaucratic officials of the record office rather than public surveyors. Aurelius Alexander, the ἀναμνηστής of the Cornell register, was from Thmuitonopolis, the city of Thmuis, which is known to us only in the nome of Mendes in the Delta as the metropolis of that nome from the second century on (see *PSI* I 107, 108, introductions to *P. Ryl.* 213-222, and Martin, *Un document administratif du nome de Mendes*, in *Stud. Pal.* XVII).

In view of the temporary nature of the work in the quinquennial census, it should not be surprising to find in control of a toparchy bureau in the Arsinoite nome a census official whose home was in the capital of the Mendesian nome. This is frequently the case with the *stratēgi* and royal scribes. See J. F. Tait in *JEA* VIII (1922) 133.

The village of New Ptolemais, known heretofore from *BGU* II 553 III 14 (early third century A.D.), is now established as continuing into the early Byzantine period. The editors of *P. Teb.* II p. 400 locate it near Karanis, which would have some support in our document. Of the ten declarations in which the home of the landowner or landholder appears, in five cases they are residents of Arsinoe, in two cases residents of Karanis, and in three, residents of the village of New Ptolemais itself.

The Cornell document offers the rather unusual opportunity to note the relation of literates to analphabets in seventeen cases assembled at one time and place. In col. IX the literacy of the landholders cannot be determined. In all the remaining cases, literacy or illiteracy can be given. The results are suggestive:

1. Villagers of New Ptolemais (including a woman and three village officials: namely, a boundary commissioner, an overseer, and the village chief), total 5—all analphabet.
2. A peasant, residence lost (l. 105)—analphabet.
3. Townsfolk of Karanis—2, both analphabet.

4. Official surveyors, habitat not given—3, all literate.

5. City residents of Arsinoë—2 women, analphabet; 4 men, 2 (one of them a doctor) literate, 2 analphabet.

Col. I

ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ'.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς λαμπρᾶς θμουεΐτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Αὐνῆ Πωλ[ί]ωνος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἀπογράφομαι παρά σοι κατὰ

- 5 κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου Εὐηθείου ἐκ θείας προσταξέως τὴν καταληφθεῖσ[αν] ὑπὸ σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἀπογραφείσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεΐνῳ κηνσίτορι ἰδίας μου χέρσου καὶ ἀδ[ε]σπότου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαΐδα Νέαν τῆς προκιμένης τοπαρχείας ἧς καὶ παρείληφα τὰ μέτρα, μετρησάντων Ἡρωνος καὶ Ἀννέου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου γεωμετρῶν, παρόντων Ἀβουτος ὀριοδίκτου καὶ Ἀἴτος Ἀβού[κε]ως μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται. ἐπὶ τῆς

- 10 θ' σφραγεΐδος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἀρούρας τέσσαρες ἄρ. δ

τῆς αὐτῆς σφραγεΐδος ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Πατερμουθείου κατὰ τὸ μέρος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου

ἀρούρας δέκα ἡμισυ τέταρτον ὄγδοον ἄρ. ι θ η

τῆς αὐτῆς σφραγεΐδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἄρουραν μίαν ἡμισυ ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον δυοτρεῖαντον ἄρ. α λ η ις λ ο

ιγ' σφραγεΐδος ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Ἀχιλλᾶ ὀριοδίκτου κατὰ τὸ μέρος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἀρούρας

- 15 δύο ἐκκαιδέκατον δυοτρεῖαντον τετραεξηκοστὸν ἄρ. β ις λ ο ξ ο

καὶ ὁμνυμί τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου

- καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων ἀληθῆ καὶ
τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβασ(τα)τῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων θωθ κς.
20 ὁμοῦ γείνονται βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
ἄρ. ις θ η ις λ ο ξ ο.
ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἄρ. α λ η ις λ.
2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Αὐνῆς Πωλίωνος ἀπεγραψάμην τὰς προδεδηλω-
μένας ἀρούρας καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν μέτρησιν. ὧμοσα
τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκον. Αὐρήλιος Κοπρῆς Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα
ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου. 3rd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων
γεωμ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα τὰς
προδηλουμένας ἀρούρας. 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀναῖος γεω-
μ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα. 5th h. Αὐρῆ(λιος) Ἀπολλώνιος
γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα.
25 6th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτης ἐπέδιξα τὰς προχι-
μένας ἀρούρας καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλιψα. καὶ Ἀᾶς καὶ Ολ-
(κανολ) κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρῃσι. Ἀνᾶς γραμ-
(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμμάτων).

Col. II

- ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ'/.
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς λαμπρᾶς
θμουσίτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου
τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέ(μ)πτῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Μύστου Ζωσίμου ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Βουβαστείου
τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου. ἀπογράφ[ομ]αι πα(σ)ρά σοι
30 κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
Εὐηθείου ἐκ θείας προστάξεως τὴν καταλημ-

- φθεῖσαν ὑπό σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείσης ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνφ κηνσίτορι ἀδεσπότου
 χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαῖδα Νέαν τῆς προκιμένης
 τοπαρχείας ἧς καὶ παρείληφα τὰ μέτρα,
 μετρησάντων Ἡρώνος καὶ Ἀννέου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου
 γεωμετρῶν, παρόντων Ἀβουτος ὀρι[ο]δίκτου
 καὶ Ἀἷτος Ἀβοίκεως μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ
 κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται. [ἐ]π[ὶ τ]ῆς
- 35 θ' σφραγεῖδος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἄρουραν
 μίαν ἡμι(συ) ἐκκαιδέκατον ἄρ. α' ἄ 15//
 καὶ ὄμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τianoῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν [καὶ Κων]σταντίου
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Kaisάρων ἀληθῆ καὶ
 τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλ[ητι]ανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξι-
 μιανοῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Kaisάρων θῶθ κ[ς].
- 40 ἔστιν ἡ προκιμένη βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
 ἄρ. α' ἄ 15.
- 2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Μύστης ἀπεγραψάμην τὴν προδεδηλωμένην
 ἄρουραν μίαν ἡμισυ ἐκκαιδέκατον καὶ παρέλαβον
 τὴν μέτρησιν ὁμόσας τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκον. 3rd h. Αὐρήλιος
 Ἡρῶν γεωμ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα τὴν ἄρουραν. 4th h. Αὐρ(ή-
 λιος) Ἀναῖος γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα.
- 5th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα.
 6th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτη(ς) ἐπέδιξα τὴν
 προκιμένην ἄρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλιπα
 καὶ Ἀ[ἄς καὶ] Ολ(κανολ) κωμάρχης παρῆ-
 μεν τῇ μέτρησι. Ἀνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραφα) ὑπ(έρ)
 αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμμάτων).

Col. III

- 45 ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 [τ]ῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ [σάρω]ν τὸ δ/
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρ(ξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι) τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 ἑορταστικῶν πό[λεως ἀναμ]ετρητῇ Ἀρσινόϊτου
 τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντεινόου τοῦ καὶ Σακαῶνος δημοσίου
 ἱατροῦ τῆς Ἀρσινόϊτο[υ] πόλε[ως] ἀπογράφομαι
 παρὰ σοι κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ
 οὐαλερίου [Ε]ὐθείου ἐκ θε[ίας] π[ροσταξ]εως τὴν
 50 καταλημφθεῖσαν ὑπό σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπ[ογ]ρα-
 φείσ[η]ς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρῶ[ην ἐπὶ] Σαβεῖνῳ κην-
 σίτορι ἰδίας μου χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμ[αίδ]α Νέαν
 τῆς προκείμενης τ[οπαρ]χείας ἧς καὶ παρεῖ-
 ληφ(α) τὰ μέτρα, μετρησάντων Ἡρώνος κ[αὶ] Ἀπολλωνίου
 γε[ω]μετρῶν, π[αρόντ]ων Ἀβουτος
 ὀριοδίκτου καὶ Ἀἷτος Ἀβοίκεως μίζονος τῆς κ[ώμης]
 καὶ Ολκαν[ολ] κωμάρχο[υ] ὡς ὑποτέτακται. ἐπὶ τῆς
 θ' σφραγεῖδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρα[ς δύο]
 ὄγδοον ἐκκαὶδέκατον, ἀρ. β η ις.
 55 καὶ ὁμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τι[ανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμια[νοῦ] Σε[βαστῶν] καὶ
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐ[πι]φανεστ[άτ]ων
 καὶ σά[ρων] ἀληθῆ καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκ[λη]-
 τianoῦ καὶ Μαξιμι[ανοῦ] Σε[βαστῶν] καὶ Κ[ωνσταντίου]
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κ[αὶ]σά[ρων] θῶθ κ[ς].
 εἰσιν ἐκ προκίμεναι ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς [σ]πορί[μης] ἄρ.
 β η ις.
 60 2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίνοος ὁ καὶ Σακαῶν ἀπεγραψάμην τὰς
 προδ[εδηλ]ωμένας ἀρούρας [δ]ύο ὄγδοον ἐκκαίδέκατον
 καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν μέτρησιν καὶ ὅμοσα
 τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκον. 3rd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρώνας γεωμ(έτρης)
 ἐμέτρησα [τ]ὰς προδ[εδηλ]ωμένας ἀρούρας. 4th h. Αὐρή-
 (λιος) Ἀπολλωνίος γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα.

5th h. Αὐρ(ῆλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτη(ς) ἐπέδιξα τὰς προκι-
 μένας ἀρούρας [καὶ οὐδὲν] παρέλιψ[α καὶ] Ολ(κανολ)
 κ[ωμ]άρχης πα[ρῆν τῇ μέτρῃσι. Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεῦς)
 ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν] ἀγ(ραμμάτων).

Col. IV

- ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων <Καيسάρων> τὸ δ/.
- 65 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 θμουίτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 τοπαρχίας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Συχιαίνης γυναικὸς μου Ἡνιόχου καὶ
 Εὐποροῦτος ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς ἀμφοτέρω(ν)
 Μαρωνίνου ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Χηνοβοσκίων Πρώτων τοῦ Ἀρσι-
 νοΐτου. ἀπογραφόμεθα παρὰ σοι
 κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 Εὐ(ε)ρηθείου ἐκ θείας προστάξεως τὴν κα-
 ταλημφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφίσης
 ὑφ' ἡμῶν πρῶ(η)ν ἐπὶ Σαβείνῳ κηνσίτορι
 70 ἰδίᾳς ἡμῶν χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαΐδα<ν> Νέαν τῆς
 προκιμήνης τοπαρχίας ἧς καὶ παρειλήφαμε(ν)
 τὰ μέτρα, μετρησάντων Ἡρωνος καὶ Ἀννέου καὶ Ἀπολ-
 λωνίου[υ γ]εωμετρῶν, παρόντων Ἀβουτος ὀριοδίκτης
 καὶ Ἀἴτος Ἀβύκεως μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ[κ]ω-
 μάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται. ἐπὶ τῆς
 ιγ/ σφραγεῖδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρας [πέν]τε
 ἑκατιδέκατον, ἀρ. ε ις
 καὶ ὀμνυμεν τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν [Διο]κλη-
 τIANOῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 75 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπ[ι]φανεστάτω[ν
 Καίσ]άρων ἀληθῆ καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τ[ῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητια-
 ν[οῦ καὶ Μ]αξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ

Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων Θῶθ κς. εἴσιν
 [αἱ προ]κείμεναι [ἰδι]ωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἄρ. ε ις.
 2nd h. Αὐρήλιαί Σουχίανα καὶ Εὐποροῦς ἀπεγρ[αψάμεθα] τὰς
 προδεδ[ηλωμ]ένας ἀρούρας καὶ παρελάβομεν τὴν μέτρησιν.
 ὡμόσαμεν τὸν σεβάσμι[ον] ὄρκον. Αὐρήλιος Κοπρῆς
 Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν ἀγραμμάτων. 3rd h. Αὐρή-
 λιος Ἦρων γεωμ(έτρης)
 80 ἐμέτρησα τὰς προδηλου[μένα]ς ἀρούρας. 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος)
 Ἄν[αι]ος γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρ(ησα). 5th h. Αὐρή(λιος)
 Ἀπολλ[ώνιος] γεωμέτρης συνεμέτρ(ησα). 6th h. Αὐρή-
 (λιος) Ἄβους ὀριοδίκτης
 ἐπέδιξα τὰς προκείμενας ἀρούρας [καὶ] οὐδ[ὲν] παρέλ[ιψα]
 καὶ Ἀᾶς καὶ Ολ(κανολ) κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρησι.
 Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν] ἀγ(ραμμά-
 των).

Col. V

ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστά[των Και]σάρων τὸ δ/.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 Θμουῖτων πόλ[εω]ς ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοῖτου
 τοπαρχίας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 85 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πατ[ερ]μουθίου Διοσκόρου ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀτίας
 ἀπὸ κώμης Καρ[ανίδ]ος τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἀπογρά-
 φομαι παρὰ σοι κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ
 Οὐαλερίου Ε[ὐ]θηεῖ[ου] ἐκ θείας προσταξέως
 τὴν καταληφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρε-
 θεΐσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ [πρώ]ν ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνφ κηνσίτορι ἀδεσ-
 πότου χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαῖδα Νέαν ἀπὸ τῆς προκι-
 μένης τοπαρχίας ἧς κ[αὶ] παρεί[ληφα] τὰ μέτρα,
 μετρησάντων

- Ἡρωνος καὶ Ἀννέου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου γεωμέτρων, παρόντων
 Ἀβούτ[ος ὁ]ρ[ι]οδίκτου καὶ Ἀἷτος Ἀβούκεως
 90 μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανοῦ κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται.
 ἐπὶ τῆς
 θ' σφραγείδος ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Αὐνῆ Πωλίωνος κατὰ τὸ μέρος
 βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἀρούρας ἕξ
 ἀρ. ς.
 τῆς αὐτῆς σφραγείδος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπό-
 του ἄρουραν μίαν ἡμισυ ἄρ. α λ.
 καὶ ὁμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τianoῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου(υ)
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων ἀληθῆ καὶ τὴν
 ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
 95 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων θὼθ κς.
 ὁμοῦ γίνονται βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
 ἀρ. ζ λ.
 2nd h. Αὐ[ρή]λιος Πατερμούθιος Διοσκόρου ἀπεγραψάμ[η]ν
 τὰς προδεδηλωμένας καὶ παρέλαβον τῇ[ν μέτ]ρ[η]σιγ.
 ὁμοσα
 τὸν σ]εβάσμιον ὄρκον. Αὐρήλιος Κοπρῆς Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα
 ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου. 3rd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων γεω-
 μ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα τὰς προ-
 100 δ[ηλο]υμένας ἀρούρας. 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀναῖος γεωμέ-
 τρ(ης) συνεμέτρησα. 5th h. Αὐρῆ(λιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γεω-
 μέτρης συνεμέτρησα. 6th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκ-
 τη(ς) [ἐπέ]διξα τὰς προκιμένας ἀρούρας καὶ οὐδὲν πα-
 ρέλιψα. καὶ Ἀἷς καὶ Ολ(κανοῦ) κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ
 μέτρησι. Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεῦς) ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν
 ἀγραμμά(των).

Col. VI

- ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων [ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ δ/.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξ[άνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 θμουίτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοίτου
 τοπαρχείας [τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 105 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἐκύσ[ιος Φ ἀπὸ
 ἀπογράφομαι παρὰ σοι
 κατὰ κέλευσιν τ[οῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 Εὐθηλείου ἐκ θείας προστάξεως τὴν κατα-
 λημφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σ[ου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τε τῆς ἀπογραφείσης
 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβαίνῳ κηνσίτορι
 ἰδίᾳς μου χέρσου [καὶ ἀδεσπότου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαίδα
 Νέαν τῆς προκιμένης τοπαρ-
 χείας ἧς καὶ παρίληφα [τὰ μέτρα, μετρησάντων Ἡρώνος καὶ
 Ἀννέου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου γεωμε-
 110 τρῶν, παρόντων Ἀβουτ[ος ὀριοδίχτου καὶ Ἀἰτος Ἀβούκεως
 μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ
 κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται ἐπὶ τῆς
 δ/ σφραγείδος ἀπὸ ἀδεσπό[του βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης
 about 28 letters
 τετρακαιεξηκ[οστόν ἀρ. ... ξ.
 τῆς αὐτῆς σφ[ραγεῖ]δο[ς ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρ. ...
 115 καὶ ὁμν[υμι] τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τIANOῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ Κ[ων]σταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καيسάρων ἀληθῇ καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι
 ἔτους ιθ['] καὶ ιη['] καὶ ια['] τ[ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τIANOῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμια[ν]οῦ τῶν ἐπ[ι]φανεστάτων Καيسάρων θὼθ κς.
 [ὁμοῦ γείνονται βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
 ἀρ.
 120 [ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρ. ... ξ.
 2nd h. Αὐρήλ[ιος] Ἐκῦσις Φ[ἀπεγραψάμην τὰς προδεδηλω-
 μένας ἀρούρας καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ παρέλαβον τὴν μέτρη-

σιν. ὧμοσα τὸν σεβ[άσμιον] ὄρκον. Αὐρήλιος Κοπρῆς
 Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου. Αὐρ(ήλιος)
 Ἡρων γεωμ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα. [τὰς προδεδηλωμένας ἀρούρας
 καὶ τὸ μέρος. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀναιος γεωμέτρ(ης) συνε-
 μέτρησα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος
 γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέτρησα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβου[ς] [ὀριοδίκτης
 ἐπέδιξα τὰς προκιμένας ἀρούρας καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ
 οὐδὲν παρέλιπα καὶ Ἀᾶς καὶ Ολ(κανολ) κωμάρχης
 παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρησι. 3rd h. Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς)
 ἔγ(ραψα) ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμμάτων).

Col. VII

- 125 ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ/.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξ[άνδρῳ] ἄρξαντι πρυτανεύσαντι θμουίτων πόλως
 ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέντης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας ...]τος Σίμου ἀπὸ κώμης Πτολεμαΐδας Νέας
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἀπογράφομε παρὰ σοι
 κατὰ κέλευ[σιν] τοῦ] διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 Εὐηθείου ἐκ θεΐας προσταξέως τὴν κατα-
 130 λημφθεῖσαν [ὑπὸ σο]υ ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ «τε» τῆς ἀπογρα-
 φίσσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεΐνου κηνσίτορι
 ἰδίᾳς μου χ[έρσου] περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κώμην Πτολεμαΐδα Νέ(αν)
 τῆς προκιμένης τοπαρχείας ἧς καὶ παρί-
 ληφα τὰ μ[έτρα, μετρη]σάντων Ἡρωνος καὶ Ἀννέως καὶ
 Ἀπολλωνίου γεωμετρῶν, παρόντω[ν]
 Ἀβουτος [ὀριοδίκ]του καὶ Ἀᾶτος Ἀβύκαιως μίζονος τῆς
 κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ κωμάρχου
 ὥς ὑποτ[έτακται]. ἐπὶ τῆς
 135 .] σφρ[αγιδος ἰδιωτ]ικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἄρουραν μίαν
 ἐκκαιδέκατον ἄρ. α ις.
 καὶ ὁ[μνυμι τύχη]ν καὶ νίκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τ[ιανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν [καὶ

- Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καί-
 σάρω[ν] ἀληθῇ καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι
 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μα[ξιμ]ιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταν[τίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων θῶθ κς
 140 ἔστιν ἡ προκείμενη [ί]διωτικῆς σπ[ορίμ]ης ἄρ. α ις.
 2nd h. Αὐρηλία . . .ς ἀπ[ε]γραψάμην τὴν προδεδηλωμένην
 ἄρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ παρέλαβον [τὴν
 μέτρησιν. ὧμοσα] τὸν σεβάσμι[ον] ὄρκον. Α[ὐρ]ήλιος
 Κοπρῆς Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα ὑπ[ὲρ] αὐτῆς ἀγραμμάτου.
 3rd h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἦρων γεωμ(έτρης) ἐμ[έ]τρησα τὴν ἄρουραν
 καὶ τὸ μέρος. 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἄναι[ος γεωμ(έτρης)]
 συνεμέτρησα ὡς πρόκειται. 5th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώ-
 νιος γεωμ(έτρης)
 συνεμέτρησα. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτης ἐπέδειξ[α] τὴν
 προκ(ιμένην) ἄρο[υρα]ν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ οὐδὲν παρ-
 ἔλιψα καὶ Ἀᾶς καὶ Ολκανολ. κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ
 μέτρησι. Ἀνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ[ὲρ] αὐτῶν
 [ἀγ(ραμμάτων)].

Col. VIII

- 145 ὑπατείας τῶν κυρ[ίων ἡμῶν Κων]σταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ δ/
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξ[άνδρῳ ἄρξαντι π]ρυτανεύσαντι θμ[ουεῖτων]
 πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 τοπαρχείας [τετάρτης πέμπτης] «τοπαρχείας» Ἡρακ[λείδου]
 μερίδος.
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀπε[..... ἀπὸ] ἀμφόδου Μ[ο]ήρεω[ς]
 τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου. ἀπογράφομαι παρὰ σοι
 κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ [διασημοτάτου κ]αθολικοῦ Ο[ὐ]αλερίου
 Εὐηθείου ἐκ θείας προστάξεως τὴν
 150 κα(τα)λημψεῖσαν ὑπ[ὸ] σου ἐν σπορῇ γῇ]ν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπο-
 γραφί[σης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ] πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεῖνῳ κηνσίτορι
 ἀδεσπότου καὶ

- ἰδίας μου χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαῖδα Νέαν [τῆς
 προκείμενης τοπαρχείας ἧς καὶ παρείληφα τὰ μέτρα,
 μετρησάντων Ἡρώωνος καὶ Ἀννέως καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου
 γεωμετρῶν, παρόντων Ἀβουτος ὀριοδίκτης
 καὶ Ἀἴτος Ἀβούκαιω[ς μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ
 κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέτακται. ἐπὶ τῆς
 ε/ σφραγεῖδος ἀπὸ κοινω[νίας]φης... κατὰ τὸ μέρος
 155 ἀρούρης ἡμισυ τέ[ταρτον ὅγδοον τε]τραεξηκοστόν.
 [ἀρ. 4 ὃ η̅ ξο̅
 ιδ σφραγεῖδος ἀπὸ κοι[νωνίας]σης βασιλικῆς γῆς
 [σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἀρ. ...
 καὶ ὄμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκη]ν τῶν δεσποτῶν [ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ Κωνσταντίου [καὶ Μαξιμιαν]οῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καيسάρων ἀληθῆ καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆσθαι.
 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ [ια' τῶν κυρίων] ἡ[μ]ῶ[ν] Διοκλη-
 160 τιανοῦ [καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶ[ν ἐπιφανεστά]των Καيسάρων θῶθ κ[ς].
 ἔ[στι] τ[ὸ προ]κείμενον βασιλ[ικῆς γῆς σπορί-
 μης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἀρ. ...
 ἰδ]ιωτ[ικῆς] γῆς σπορίμης [ἀρ. 4 ὃ η̅ ξο̅.
 2nd h. Α[ὕρ]ῆλι[ος Ἀπε ἀπεγραψάμ]ην [τὴν] προὐδη-
 λωμένην ἄ[ρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ παρέλαβον
 τ[ὴν] μέτρησιν. ὥμοσα τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκον. Αὕρῆλιος
 [Κοπρῆς] Εὐ[πόρου] ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.
 165 Α[ὕρ]ῆλιος Ἡρῶν γεωμέτρης ἐμέτρησα τὴν ἄρουραν καὶ
 τὸ μ[έρο]ς. Α[ὕρ]ῆλιος Ἀνναιος γεωμ(έτρης) συν-
 εμέτρησα. 3rd h. Αὕρ(ῆλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γεω(μέτρης)
 συνεμέτρησα.
 Αὕρ(ῆλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτης ἐπέδιξα τὰς προκείμενας
 ἀρούρας καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ οὐ[δὲν] παρέλιψα καὶ
 Ἀἴς καὶ Ολ(κανολ) κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρησι.
 Αὐνᾶς γραμματεὺς ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμ-
 μάτων).

Col. IX

- ὑπατε[ί]ας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ [Μαξιμιαν]οῦ
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων [τὸ δ/
 Αὐ]ρηλ[ί]ψ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντι πρυ[ταν]εύσ[αντι θ]μου-
 ίτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρ[σινόϊ]του
 το[παρχ]είας τετάρτης πέμ[π]τη[ς Ἡρακ]λείδου μερίδ]ος
 170 παρὰ] Αὐρη[λί]ων Ἐσοῦρεως Στ[ρ]ατιώτου [...]υτ
 [...ε]ι]αφν τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ κώ[μης Πτολεμαΐδας Νέας
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. ἀπογράφομεν παρὰ [σοι κατὰ κέλευσι]ν
 τοῦ διασημοτ[άτο]υ καθ[ολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου Εὐηθείου
 ἐκ θε[ί]ας π[ρ]οστ[άξ]εως τὴν καταλη[φθε]ῖσα[ν ὑπὸ σου
 ἐν] σπ[ορ]ῇ γῆν ἀπὸ [τε τῇ]ς ἀπογραφ[αίσης ὑπ' ἡμῶν
 πρώην
 ἐπὶ Σα]βεΐνου κη[νσίτορι] ἰδί[ας] μου χέρ[σου καὶ ἀδεσ-
 πότου περὶ κώ]μην Π[τολε]μ[α]ΐδα Ν[έαν τῆς προχι-
 μένης
 τοπαρχ]είας ἥς καὶ π[αρε]ιλήφα]μεν [τὰ μέ]τρ[α, μετρη-
 σάντων Ἡρ]ωνος κ[αὶ Ἀ]ννέως [καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου γεω-
 175 μετρῶ]ν, παρόντων [Ἀβο]υτος [ὀριοδί]κτου καὶ Ἀἷτος
 Ἀβούκεως] μίζ[ονος] τῆς κώ[μης καὶ Ολκανολ κω-
 μάρχου] ὥς ὑ[ποτέτακται.] ἐπὶ τ[ῆς
 . σφραγεῖ]δος βασ[ιλικῆς γῆς σπορί]μης [ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
 ἀρούρας
 καὶ ὄμνυ]μιν τ[ύχην καὶ] νί[κ]ην τῶ[ν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ] καὶ Μ[αξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταν-
 τίου
 καὶ Μαξι]μια[ν]οῦ τῶ[ν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων ἀληθῆ] καὶ
 τὴν [ἀπογραφὴν πεποιῆ]σθαι.
 180 ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν [Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων θ[ὴθ κς].
 ἔστιν τὰ [προκείμενα
]εἰαφντ ἀ[πεγραψάμεθα ?
 τὸν σεβάσ]μιον ὄρ[κον
 185 Ἀπο]λλώνιος γε[ω(μέτρης)
 Αὐνᾶς γ]ραμ[ματεὺς] ἔγ[ραψα] ὑπ[ὲρ] [αὐτῶν ἀγραμμά-
 των.

Col. X

- ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξι]μιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανε[σ]τάτων Καισάρων τὸ δ/.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαν]τι πρ[υ]τανεύ]σαντι ὁμοίτων
 πόλεως [ἀ]ναμετρη]τῇ Ἀρσινοίτ[ου]
 τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλεί]δου μερίδος.
 190 παρὰ Αὐρηλίουο]υ ἀπὸ κώμ[ης] Πτολεμαΐδας Νέας τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ [νομο]ῦ. ἀπογράφομα[ι π]αρά σοι [κατὰ
 κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτά]του καθολ[ικο]ῦ Οὐαλε[ρ]ίου
 Εὐηθείου ἐκ [θείας] πρ[ο]σ]τάξεως τὴν κατα[ληφθεῖ]σαν
 ὑπό σου ἐν σπ]ορᾷ [γῆν] ἀπό τε τῆς ἀπογρα[φεί]σης ὑπ'
 ἐμοῦ πρῶ[ην ἐπὶ] Σαβείνῳ κ[η]νσίτορι [ιδί]ας μου
 χέρσου καὶ ἀδ]εσ[πότο]υ περὶ τῇ[ν] αὐτὴν κώμην Πτο-
 λεμαΐδ[α Νέαν τ]ῆς προκιμένης τοπ[αρχείας]
 καὶ παρείληφα τὰ μ]έτρα, μετρη[σ]άντω[ν] Ἡρωνος καὶ
 Ἀν[έου καὶ] Ἀπολλωνίου [γεωμέτρων,
 195 παρόντων Ἀβουτος] ὀριοδίκτου καὶ Ἀ[ᾱ]τος Ἀ]βύκαιως
 μίζ[ονος] τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολ[κανο]λ κωμάρχου
 ὡς ὑποτέτακται]. ἐπὶ τῆς
 . σφραγιδος ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου] βασιλικῆς γῆς σ[πορίμης]
 ἀρ]ούρης ἡμισυ τέτα[ρτον] ὅ]γδοον δυοτρ[εῖαν]τον ἀρ..
 L θη λo
 τῆς αὐτῆς σφραγιδος ἀπὸ κοιν]ων[ίας] κατὰ τὸ μέρος
 ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρ...
 τῆς αὐτῆς] σφραγιδος βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρούρης
 ἡμισ]υ ὅγδοον ἐκκ[αιδέ]κατον [ἀρ. L η ις
 200 καὶ ὄμνυ]μιν τύχην καὶ ν[ί]κην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν]
 Διοκλητιανοῦ [καὶ] Μαξ[ιμι]ανοῦ Σε[βαστῶν]
 καὶ Κων]σταντίου καὶ Μαξ[ιμι]ανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Και]σάρων [ἀληθῆ] καὶ [τὴν ἀπ]ογρ[αφὴν πεποιῆσθαι
 ἔτους ιθ/ καὶ ιη/ καὶ ια/ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβασ]τῶν [καὶ] Κωνστα[ντίου]
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων θὼθ κς].

- ἔστιν ἡ προ]κιμέν[η βασιλικῆς] γῆς σπορί[μης
 ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἄρ. α Ὑ ἱς λ̄ο
 205 ἰδιωτικῆς] γῆς σπορ[ίμης ἄρ. . . .
- 2nd h. Αὐρήλιοςος ἀπ]εγραψάμη[ν τὰς προδεδηλωμένας]
 ἄρ[ούρας] καὶ [πα]ρέλαβον [τὴν μέτρησιν. ὥμοσα
 τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκο]ν. Αὐρήλιος [Κοπρῆς Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα
 ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτ]οῦ ἀγ[ρα]μμάτου. [3rd h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἦρων
 γεω(μέτρης) ἐμέτρησα τὰς προδ]ηλουμένας ἄρ[ούρας].
 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀναίος γεω(μέτρης) συνε]μέτρησα.
 5th h. Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γεω(μέτρης) συνεμέ-
 τρησα. 6th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβους ὀριοδίκτης
 ἐπέδιξα τὰς π]ροκιμένας ἀρούρας καὶ οὐ[δὲν παρέλιπα.
 Ἀἷς καὶ ΟΛ(κανολ) κωμάρχης παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρῃσι.
 Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραψα) ὑπ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμ-
 μάτων).

Col. XI

- 210 ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ δ/.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἄρξαντεϊ πρυτανεύσαντεϊ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 θμουεΐτων πόλεως ἀναμετρητῇ Ἀρσινοΐτου
 τοπαρχείας τετάρτης πέμπτης Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος.
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀππειανοῦ Ὀρίωνος ἀπὸ ἀμφόδου Ἰερᾶς
 Πύλης τοῦ Ἀρσινοΐτου. ἀπογράφομαι παρ[ά] σοι
 κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 Εὐηθείου ἐκ θείας προσταξέως τὴν καταλημφθεΐ-
 215 σαν ὑπὸ σου ἐν σπορᾷ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐρεθείσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
 πρώην ἐπὶ Σαβεΐνῳ κηνσίτορι ἀδεσπότου
 χέρσου περὶ κώμην Πτολεμαΐδα Νέαν τῆς προκιμένης
 τοπαρχείας ἥς καὶ παρείληφα τὰ μέτρα, μετρησάν-

- των Ἡρώου καὶ Ἀνέου καὶ Ἀπ[ολ]λωνίου γεωμετρῶν,
 παρόντων Ἀβουτος ὀριοδίκτης καὶ Ἀἴτος Ἀβο[ύ]κεως
 μίζονος τῆς κώμης καὶ Ολκανολ κωμάρχου ὡς ὑποτέ[τ]ακ-
 ται. ἐπὶ τῆς
- 18/ σφραγεῖδος ἀπὸ κοινωνίας Λεωνέως κατὰ τὸ μέρος
 βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου ἄρουραν
- 220 μίαν δυοτρεῖαντον. ἄρ. α λ^ο
 καὶ ὅμνυμι τύχην καὶ νείκην τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τianoῦ καὶ Μαξιμianoῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 καὶ Μαξιμianoῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστ[ά]των Kaisάρων ἀληθῆ καὶ
 τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ποιῆσθαι.
- ἔτους ιθ' καὶ ιη' καὶ ια' τῶν κυρ[ί]ων ἡμῶν Διοκλητianoῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμianoῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 καὶ Μαξιμianoῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστᾶτων Kaisάρων θῶθ κς.
- 225 ἔστιν ἡ προκείμενη βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου
 ἄρ. α λ^ο /.
- 2nd h. Αὐρήλιος Ἀππιανὸς Ὀρίωνος ἀπεγραψάμην τὴν
 προδεδηλουμένην ἄρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ παρέλαβον
 τὴν μέ-
 τρησιν. ὅμοσα τὸν σεβάσμιον ὄρκον. Αὐρήλιος Κοπρῆς
 Εὐπόρου ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου. 3rd h. Αὐρή-
 λιος Ἡρώου
- γεωμ(έτρης) ἐμέτρησα τὴν ἄρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος.
- 4th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀναίος γεωμέτ(ρης) συνεμέτρησα.
- 5th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀπολλώνιος γεωμ(έτρης) συνεμέ-
 τρησα.
- 6th h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀβουε ὀριοδίκτης ἐπέδιξα τὴν προκι-
 μένην ἄρουραν καὶ τὸ μέρος καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλιπα καὶ
 «Ἀἴς Ἀβοῦ[κ]ει[ω]ς» Ἀἴς καὶ Ολ(κανολ) κωμάρχης
 παρῆμεν τῇ μέτρη(σι). Αὐνᾶς γραμ(ματεὺς) ἔγ(ραψα)
 ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγ(ραμμάτων).

Col. I

In the fourth consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, to Aurelius Alexander, ex-official, ex-prytanis of the glorious city of Thmuis, measurer of the Arsinoite nome, toparchy fourth and fifth, of the Heracleid division, from Aurelius Aunes son of Polion from the village of Karanis of the same nome:

I declare in your presence, in accordance with an order of the most eminent catholicus Valerius Euethius following an imperial edict, the land which was found by you to be seed land, out of that recently declared by me to Sabinus census taker as my own private dry land and as ownerless land about the village of New Ptolemais of the above mentioned toparchy, and of which I have taken the measurements, the surveyors Heron and Annaeus and Apollonius having measured it in the presence of Abous, boundary official, and Aas son of Aboukis, headman of the village, and Olkanol village chief, as stated below:

9th section, royal seed land, from ownerless, four arourae,	4	ar.
Same section, royal seed land held in common with Patermouthius and worked on shares, from ownerless, six and seven-eighths arourae,	6	7/8 ar.
Same section, private seed land, one and twenty-three thirty-seconds arourae,	1	23/32 ar.
19th section, royal seed land held in common with Achilles, boundary commissioner, and worked on shares, from ownerless, two and seven sixty-fourths arourae,	2	7/64 ar.

And I swear by the fortune and victory of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and of Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, that I have made a true declaration.

Year 19 and 18 and 11 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian, Most August, and of Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, Thoth 26.

Total of royal seed land, from ownerless, 16 63/64 arourae.
of private seed land, 1 23/32 arourae.

2nd hand. I, Aurelius Aunes son of Polion, have declared the above mentioned arourae and have taken the measurements. I swore the imperial oath. I, Aurelius Kopres, son of Euporus, wrote for him, he being illiterate.

3rd hand. I, Aurelius Heron, surveyor, measured the arourae appearing above.

4th hand. I, Aurelius Annaeus, surveyor, helped in the measuring.

5th hand. I, Aurelius Apollonius, surveyor, helped in the measuring.

6th hand. I, Aurelius Abous, boundary official, pointed out the arourae set forth above and have omitted nothing. And we, Aas and Olkanol village chief, were present at the measuring. I, the scribe Anas, wrote for them, they being illiterate.

In view of the repetitive character of these successive declarations, we offer the following as a synopsis of their important features. We include the first column (translated above) for the sake of completeness. Square brackets in this diagram indicate conclusions drawn from our restorations.

	DECLARED BY	RESIDENT OF	LOCATION OF PLOTS	FIRST DECLARED AS
Col. I	Aunes son of Polion	Karanis	New Ptolemais: 9th section 9th section 9th section 13th section	Ownerless Ownerless Private dry Ownerless
Col. II	Mystes son of Zosimus	Arsinoe, Boubastis Quarter	New Ptolemais: 9th section	Ownerless dry
Col. III	Antinous, public physician	Arsinoe	New Ptolemais: 9th section	Private dry
Col. IV	Two sisters, Suchiaena and Euporous	Arsinoe, First Goosepens Quarter	New Ptolemais: 13th section	Private dry
Col. V	Patermouthius son of Dioscorus	Karanis	New Ptolemais: 9th section 9th section	Ownerless dry Ownerless dry
Col. VI	Ekusis	name lost	[New Ptolemais] 4th section 4th section	Ownerless Private dry
Col. VII	. . . s daughter of Simus	New Ptolemais	New Ptolemais: ? section	Private dry
Col. VIII	Ape . . .	Arsinoe, Moeris Quarter	New Ptolemais: 5th section 14th section	Private dry Ownerless
Col. IX	Esouris, Stratiotes and one other	[New Ptolemais]	New Ptolemais: ? section	Private dry
Col. X	. . . us	New Ptolemais	New Ptolemais: ? section ? section ? section	Ownerless Private dry Ownerless
Col. XI	Appianus	Arsinoe, Sacred Gate Quarter	New Ptolemais: 14th section	Ownerless dry

NOW DECLARED AS	AMOUNT OF LAND	HELD IN PARTNERSHIP WITH	LITERACY
Royal seed land Royal seed land Private seed land Royal seed land	4 ar. 10 7/8 ar. 1 23/32 ar. 2 7/64 ar.	—— Patermouthius —— Achillas	Analphabet
Royal seed land	1 9/16 ar.	——	Literate
Private seed land	2 3/16 ar.	——	Literate
Private seed land	5 1/16 ar.	——	Both an- alphabet
Royal seed land Royal seed land	6 ar. 1 1/2 ar.	Aunes son of Polion ——	Analphabet
[Royal seed land] [Private seed land]	More than 1/64 ar. missing	—— ——	Analphabet
Private seed land	1 1/16 ar.	——	Analphabet
Private seed land Royal seed land	57/64 ar. missing	name lost name lost	Analphabet
Royal seed land	missing	——	?
Royal seed land Private seed land Royal seed land	29/32 ar. missing [13/16 ar.]	—— name lost ——	Analphabet
Royal seed land	1 1/32 ar.	Atepsenes	Analphabet

In order to save space we have not noted the numerous peculiarities in spelling, except in the case of names and in a few other examples.

Col. I

5. The chances are great that the name coupled with that of Sabinus the census holder in *BGU* IV 1049. 6, 8 is that of our Εὐθέσιος. Wilcken's rereading of the name resulted in 'Εὐ[ε]λύσιον and 'Εὐεῦν[ολ]υ (see *Archiv* V 263), but of these readings he was not certain.

8. The duties of the ὁριοθεῖτης are fairly apparent from this and the few other documents which contain the word. The form of the oath which he took is here the same as in the similar document *P. Thead.* 54 (299 A.D.). It was his duty to be present with the village scribe and settle disputes as to boundaries in the village district, *BGU* II 616 (of. *P. Amh.* 142). In cases of disputed land classification between an individual and the government (as is the case in our document) it was his duty to see that the surveyors did not injure either side, the peasant by including land which lay without the boundaries of the plot under discussion, the state by excluding a part of the peasant's plot from the report (of. καὶ οὐδὲν παρέλιπα, l. 25). *P. Amh.* 83, which belongs to the period following upon the census of Sabinus, is a complaint against a fraud committed by a ὁριοθεῖτης who eliminated certain fields, belonging to himself and others, from his report. This was done in collusion with the *juratores*, who appear along with the boundary official in *P. Thead.* 54, though not in our document. The official who made the complaint was compelled to pay the deficiency in the rents accruing to the government. He had detected the fraud perpetrated and was seeking redress.

That the ὁριοθεῖτης was an official of the village unit in the land system is clear from *BGU* 933. 5, ὁριοθεῖτου πρὸς τῆς κώμης. The complaint there lodged against a boundary official has to do with a house in the village and its registration; but it is not possible to determine whether the complaint of the boundary commissioner comes from him as an official or as an individual. See also Oertel, *Liturgis* 181, 182.

9. μείζωνος τῆς κώμης: the μείζωνες are well known in the papyri of the later Byzantine centuries. This is the earliest use of the term known to us as applying to a definite village official (of. *P. Oxy.* 1626. 5 and note), and one of the few which make clear any particular function attached to the office. The μείζων was evidently on a par with the boundary commissioner and the comarch, and here had to do with the accuracy of the land register of the village. In order to avoid the use of the ambiguous term "elder" and in want of sufficient knowledge of his functions, we follow the editors

of *P. Oxy.* 1626 in translating the title as "headman" of the village. Cf. Oertel, *Liturgis* 366 note 4.

13. Σεβας(τα)τῶν: the additional syllable is evidently carried over in the scribe's mind from ἐπιφανιστάτων above, or in anticipation of it in the next line.

25. The hand of the scribe who wrote for the illiterate village officials is very cursive and reading is difficult. Here and in ll. 44 and 144 his name is spelled Ἀνᾶς, in other places Ἀνῶς. Preceding his name in this line is a vertical stroke extending above the other letters of the line and well below them and turning at right angles at the bottom. It seems to have no significance except to separate the name of Anas from the preceding ones. It does not occur in the other columns.

31. Pap. ὑπ' ἐμού.

Col. II

34. Ἀβοίκεως for Ἀβούκεως: spelled Ἀβύκεως in l. 72 and Ἀβύκατος in l. 133.

46. The scribe wrote the first two letters of ἀρεάντ, then left a blank space of the correct length for completing it and for adding πρυτανεύσαντ. This space he did not fill in.

48. For the public physicians and their varied services to the state see Karl Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus den griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, and Schubart, *Einführung*, 387, 400. It is not surprising to find public and private physicians engaged in farming or in other occupations, as shown by tax lists and other documents gathered by Sudhoff (254 ff. and 262 ff.), who mentions an unpublished papyrus of the Rainer collection in which a private physician appears as engaged also in vine raising (263).

Col. III

52. The name of the surveyor Annaeus does not appear here, nor does he sign the declaration below, l. 61, as the limit of the space will not permit the insertion.

59. Read αὐτὸν προκείμενα.

Col. IV

67. For the quarter of the First Goosepens in Arsinoe see Wessely, *Die Stadt Arsinoe*, in *Sitzungsb. Wiener Akad.* 145 (1902) 37. There was also a quarter of the Second Goosepens.

Col. V

91. This is the Aunes son of Polion who made the declaration (col. I) of 10 7/8 ar. held in common with Patermouthius. In both cases the plots are "royal seed land" and in the ninth *sphragis*.

Col. VII

This column is made up of one continuous piece and of a single fragment (beginnings of ll. 129-136) which was found amid a group of 24 large and small pieces, most of which, but not all, were a part of this roll.

127. Read πέμπτης.

128. Certainty that the declarant was a woman is obtained from ὑπ(ὲρ) αὐτῆς (l. 142). Read ἀπογράφουσι.

130. τε must be omitted as there is no corresponding καὶ ἀδελφότητος declared by this woman. Read Εαβείνῃ and of. the same error in l. 173.

132. The spelling 'Αννέως for 'Αννέου is repeated in l. 152.

Col. VIII

In reconstructing this column out of numerous fragments we acknowledge the possibility of error which is suggested by the fact that we were compelled to read ἀδελφότητος καὶ ἰδίας μου χέρσου π[ερί] in ll. 150, 151, whereas in col. I the order of ἀδελφότητος and ἰδίας is reversed. This slight objection did not, however, outweigh the results of a careful study of the pieces with reference to coloration, shape and general suitability.

147. The second τοπαρχείας, wherever we should have placed the fragment in which it occurs, would have to be eliminated as a dittography. In the remaining ten declarations it appears before τετάρτης πέμπτης.

Col. IX

170. This declaration is made by three peasants, Escouris, Stratiotes, and a third man whose name may be Elaphyt, or perhaps . . . eiaphyt. The genitive, or genitive ending, appears in this line as αϕυ. In l. 183 εἰϕυτ, as given in the text, seems to be the nominative form; but the fragments of this column are charred and reading is difficult.

The restoration of the village name as New Ptolemais fills the space required, whereas Κατανίδος would not do so.

173. There is something strange in the declaration in this column. The reading ἰδίᾳς μου χέρ[σου καὶ ἀδεσπότου appears on the same piece as the ἀπογράφου of l. 171 and μου must therefore be changed to ἡμῶν. The land was first declared as privately owned and ownerless, but in the first large fragment in l. 177 it is all declared as βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης. Either the declarants made an error in the primary declaration, or else the tenure category had changed in the meantime. The former of the two explanations is the preferable one. We have confidence in our placing of the fragments.

182-186. We do not attempt to fill out these lines because of the lack both of beginning and end and because of the confusion in the declaration itself.

Col. X

199. There is not sufficient space in the lacuna, as we place these fragments, for the customary ἀπὸ ἀδεσπότου following σπορίμης.

200. Read ὁμνυμῆ and of. ὁμνυμῆν for ὁμνυμῆν in l. 178.

Col. XI

This column, the core of the roll, was badly carbonized, and is exceedingly dark and brittle.

215. Pap. ὑπ' ἐμού. of. l. 31n.

219. It is possible to read ρ or τ in place of ψ in Ατρεσνης, as the upper portion of the letter is gone. The length of the lower part of the vertical stroke leads us to prefer ψ.

229. The scribe wrote the name of Aas and his patronymic which he had not used in the previous columns. He then scratched out roughly the latter part of the patronymic but carelessly allowed Αας Αβου to stand without erasure as he made a fresh start with 'Αᾶς καὶ Ολ().

20 (a). DECLARATION OF LAND FOR THE CENSUS OF 302 A. D.

Hermopolis

303 A. D.

This papyrus of the New York Historical Society (Abbott Catalog, 1915, no. 389) was published by Edgar J. Goodspeed in *Nél. Nicole* 187-191 and republished by Ulrich Wilcken (*Chröst.* 229), who did not, however, have access to the original. Recognizing its close connection with 20 and the probability that the catholicus mentioned in the two documents was the same man, we read it for the sole purpose at first of using its content in the discussion of the Cornell papyrus. The light thrown upon it, however, by knowledge carried to its reading from previous acquaintance with 20, enabled us to settle a number of questions which could not be clarified in the original reading by Professor Goodspeed. Wilcken had already suggested the necessity of a complete revision. The right to republish the papyrus had, however, been specifically reserved by the Trustees of the New York Historical Society for Professor Goodspeed, and it is due to his generous consent, followed by that of the officials of the Society, that we are now able to reproduce it. Because of its close relationship to 20, its importance, and the fact that Goodspeed did not publish it in its entirety, it has seemed advisable to re-edit the document as a whole rather than to attempt merely to indicate changes of reading and additions to the primary edition in *Nél. Nicole*.

The three detached pieces which make up the document are firmly pasted upon a single piece of muslin. Col. I (= Goodspeed frag. A) is $7 \frac{3}{4} \times 5 \frac{3}{4}$ inches in size, col. II (= Goodspeed frag. C) $8 \frac{1}{4} \times 7 \frac{1}{2}$ inches, coll. III and IV (= Goodspeed frag. B) $7 \frac{1}{4} \times 8 \frac{1}{4}$ inches. The last piece is pasted upside down upon the muslin as reported by Goodspeed

and is wrongly placed between the other two pieces. The ἀπογραφαί belong to a series of land declarations from the Patemite Toparchy of the Hermopolite nome, dated in the 8th consulship of Diocletian and the 7th of Maximian. The same clerk wrote the body of the declarations in coll. I and II, which were numbered 14 and 21 on the original register, and a different clerk wrote III and IV, which were successive columns on the original συγκολλήσιμος. For that reason we have changed the arrangement of the columns from that on the muslin, which Goodspeed followed.

As in 20 the declarations are those of a single person for each column; an Aurelius Nession in col. I and a woman, Aurelia Theophania also called Isidora, in col. II. The declarations are addressed to the landmeasurers, of whom there were two in this toparchy (the Patemite of the Hermopolite nome) as against one in 20. All the land declared is, with respect to the production category, "sown" (i. e. inundation and grain producing) land, and, with respect to the ownership category, "privately owned" or "royal" land. As coll. I and II are numbered 14 and 21 respectively, there must have been a large number of such declarations entered for the toparchy each year.

In his discussion of this and related texts in *Grundzüge* 226, 227 Wilcken had regarded the verb ἀνεκτιῆσθαι as referring to the privately owned land, the verbs ἔχσιν καὶ παρειληφέναι as referring to the "royal land." This is true of ἀνεκτιῆσθαι and ἔχσιν, but παρειληφέναι means "we have taken the complete measurements in the fields," being elliptical for παρείληφα τὰ μέτρα in 20. 7, which is repeated in all the other declarations of that roll. In these declarations the declarants themselves gave in the amount of the land and their statements were not checked up by official survey. This was due to the fact that the land here declared was all "sown land." It had been reached by the inundation and there would be no question as to the taxes (from private land) or rent (from the state land). It would correspond to the uncontested land of the

pre-Diocletian period in Egypt. Therefore the signatures of the many inspection officials which are on the Cornell document are lacking here.

Col. I

10

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιαν[οῦ τὸ η' καὶ Μαξι-
μιανοῦ τὸ ζ'.

Αὐρ(ηλίσις) Σαβίνφ καὶ Ἰ[έρα]χι ἀναμετρηταῖς τοπαρχεί-
ας Π[ατεμίτου] Ἀνω

Αὐρ(ἡλίσις) Νεσσίων ὁ καὶ Ἀβαν() [ἀπὸ] τ[ῆς] μεγ(άλης)

Ἑρμοπόλεως τῆς [λαμπρᾶς κατὰ τὸ
πρόσταγμα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ [Μαξιμιανοῦ
Σεβαστῶν

5 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπ[ι]φανεστάτων
Καισάρων ἀκολούθως

καὶ τοῖς προσταχθεῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημο[τ]ά[του] καθολικοῦ
Οὐαλερίου Εὐηθείου ἀπογράφομαι

ἀνεκτῆσ(θ)αι καὶ ἔχειν καὶ παρειληφέν[αι] ἐν ἀγροῖς πλήρη
ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοπαρχίᾳ

πρακτορί(ας) Τιμών[θεως].

ιβ' κοί(της) ἐκ τ(οῦ) Δίω(νος) κλ(ήρου) ὀνό(ματος) Ἰσι-
δώρου τοῦ κ[αὶ]

10 ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης) [(ἀρ.) ζ] \angle $\overline{\delta\eta}$ $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$

βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) [(ἀρ.)] α $\overline{\lambda\omicron}$

ιδ' κοί(της) ἐκ τ(οῦ) Νικοδήμου ἰδιω(τικῆς) [ἐσπ(αρ-
μένης)] (ἀρ.) $\overline{\delta\delta\iota\epsilon\lambda\omicron}$

βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.) $\overline{\angle\iota\epsilon\epsilon\omicron}$

ἰδιωτικῆς Δίω(νος) κατα...σμεν (ἀρ.) $\overline{\epsilon\omicron}$

15 γί(νονται) πρακ(τορίας) ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης)

(ἀρ.) ιβ $\overline{\delta\eta\lambda\omicron}$

βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.) α \angle $\overline{\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\epsilon\omicron}$

ἰδιω(τικῆς) Δίω(νος) () (ἀρ.) $\overline{\epsilon\omicron}$

καὶ ὁμνύω τὴν τῶ[ν κυρί]ων ἡμῶν Διοκλ[η]τ[ιαν]οῦ [καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων [Και]σά[ρων τύχην κτλ
 20]τῶν κυρί[ων ἡμῶν κτλ

broken

Col. II

κα

ὑπατ]είας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλη[τ]ιανοῦ τὸ
 η// καὶ Μ[α]ξιμιανοῦ τ[ὸ ζ//
 Αὐρ]ηλίοις Σαβίνῳ [κ]αὶ Ἰέρακι ἀμφοτέροις ἀναμε[τ]ρηταῖς
 τοπα[ρ]χίας Π[α]τεμίτου
 Ἄνω τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμο[υπο]λίτου νομοῦ.
 Αὐρ]ηλία Θεοφανία ἡ [κα]ὶ Ἰ[σ]ιδώρα about 22 letters]
 ἀ[πὸ] Ἑρμοῦ[π]όλεως κα[τὰ τὸ
 25 πρόσ]ταγ[μα τ]ῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμ[ῶν Διοκλητ]ια[νο]ῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστ[ῶν καὶ Κων-
 στα]ντίου καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ τ]ῶν ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτων [Καισ]άρων
 ἀ[ρχολο]ύθως καὶ τοῖς π[ρ]οσταχ-
 θεῖ[σι] ὑπὸ τοῦ δια[σ]ημ[ο]τάτου καθολικοῦ Οὐαλερίου
 Εὐη[θ]είου ἀπ[ογ]ράφομαι ἀ<ν>εκ[τῆσθαι καὶ
 ἔχει]ν καὶ παρειληφέναι ἐν ἀγροῖς πλήρη ἐν τῇ αὐτ[ῇ]
 τοπαρχίᾳ» πρακ[τ]ορίας Τιμῶνθ[εως
 30 ζ] κοί(της) Λεοντίσκου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(α)ρ(μένης) (ἀρ.) η ξο
 βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(α)ρ(μένης) (ἀρ.) ξο
 .] κοί(της) Ἀγωνίππου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(α)ρ(μένης) (ἀρ.) ις//
 .] κοί(της) Νικοδήμου ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(α)ρ(μένης)
 (ἀρ.) ις λo
 βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(α)ρ(μένης) (ἀρ.) ξo
 γ(ίνεται) τῆς πρακτ[ο]ρί(ας) ἀρούρης) τέταρτον
 [ἐκκαιδέ-
 35 κατον τετρακαιεξηκοστόν ..[

ἰδιωτικ(ῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης) ἀρούρ(ης) τέταρτο[ν]
 δυοτρί[αντον
 τετρακαιεξ[η]κοστόν. βασιλικ(ῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης)
 ἀρ[ούρ(ης)]
 δυοτρίαν[το]ν.

καὶ ὁμνυμι τῇ]ν τῶν [κυρίων] ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κω(ν)σταντίου καὶ
 40 Μαξι]μι[ανοῦ] τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Kaisάρων τύχην ταῦτα
 εἶναι ἀληθῆ καὶ μηδὲν διε[ψεῦσθαι].
 τὸ] ἡ (ἔτος) καὶ τὸ ζ (ἔτος) [τῶν] κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλη-
 τianoῦ [καὶ] Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κω(ν)σταντίο[υ
 καὶ
 Μαξιμιανο]ῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Kaisάρων Παχ[ῶν] κη/.
 2nd h. Αὐρ(ηλία) Θεοφανία
 ἡ καὶ Ἰσιδ]ώρα ἐπιδέδωκα τὴν ἀπογραφὴν καὶ ὥμο[σα τὸν]
 θεῖον ὄρ[κον
]ο[.....] 3rd h.ο.ἰσμ.υνα() Τιμῶ[ν]θεως
 [...]θ[
 45 ...κ [ῶς] πρόκ(εῖται). Εὐρονίου..[

Col. III

broken

[.. κοί(της) ? ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.) δ ?]
 [βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.) Λ λο.]
 .. κοί(της) ? ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης)] (ἀρ.) γ δ λο ξο
 βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης)] (ἀρ.) Λ ις
 50 πλεονασμοῦ] (ἀρ.) η λο ξο
 .. κοί(της) ? ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης)] (ἀρ.) α θ ξο
 βασιλικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης)] (ἀρ.) η ις λο ξο
 γ(ίνονται) ἰδι(ωτικῆς) ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.)
 ἐννέα δυο]τριακοστόν, βασιλ-
 ικῆς ἐσπ(αρμένης) (ἀρ.) μία τέταρτον
 ις ξο
]πλεονασμοῦ (ἀρ.) η λο ξο

- 55 Μα]ξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ
]εῖναι ἀληθῆ καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι
]Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου
 ἐπιρ]ανεστάτων Καισάρων Παχῶν ιθ/
 2nd h.]. καὶ ὥμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 60 3rd h.]γ ἰδιωτικ(ῆς) ἐσπ(αρ)μένη(ς) ἄρ. ἐννέα
]ἄρ. μία τέταρτον ἐκκα[ι]δέκατον
 τετρακαιεξηκοστόν]

Col. IV

broken

- Πατεμίτ(ου) Ἄνω[
 ζ κοί(της) [
- 65 [[ις κ]
 ις κοί(της) Ἀγωνίπ[που
 ιδ κοί(της) Νικοδ[ήμου
 βασιλ(ικῆς) ἐ[π(αρ)μένης)
 γ(ίνονται) ἰδ(ιωτικῆς) [ἐσπ(αρ)μένης)
- 70 καὶ ὁμνυμι τὴν [
- τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων [
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν
 ἐπιφα[ν]εστάτων [
 2nd h. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰέραξ .[
- 75 δυοτρι[ακοστόν

2. Αὐρ(ηλίους): Abbreviations are indicated throughout this document by a transverse stroke, as here Αὐρ/. For the restoration of the toparchy name see ll. 22, 63 and notes.

3. The doubt in reading Νεσσίων and Ἀβαν() is due to the cursive character of the writing. Goodspeed's Αxxx[ος] is certainly wrong.

7. The restoration is taken from l. 23.

8. Wilcken's suggestion (*Chrest.* 229 note 9) of Τιμώνθεας, known as a village of the Hermopolite nome from *P. Flor.* 2. 43, is fully confirmed by our readings here and in ll. 23, 44.

9. 18 here and 16 in l. 12 are the numbers of the land parcels, not dates, as Goodspeed thought (*Mél. Nicole* 188). The still smaller official divisions are the κληροί. There are no artabae signs in this column, as Goodspeed supposed.

14. We are in doubt as to the reading after κατα, though the cursive letters are clear. κατασπρμέν(ης) is not possible.

21. In pasting the papyrus upon the muslin back, a small section at the end of l. 1 was pasted over toward the left, covering vo of Μαξιμιανοῦ and leaving visible only the final up-stroke of υ.

22. The part of the letter visible at the end of the line must be either τ or π. The swing toward the left which begins this stroke is more pronounced than in the other letters and suggests the reading π. From this letter and "Ανω in the following line, the reading of the toparchy as Π[ατεμίου] "Ανω, from l. 63, seems to be warranted. The records would necessarily be kept in some district arrangement, just as in 20, in which all the plots recorded in the eleven columns lie about the village of New Ptolemais. One is forced, therefore, to preclude the other possible reading π[ερὶ Πόλιν] "Ανω, the name of a toparchy of the Hermopolite nome known from *P. Flor.* 42. 2; *P. Ryl.* 157. 4 and 417; and *P. Amh.* 95. 3.

23. "Ανω τοῦ: *Mél. Nicole* 190 reads ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. Wilcken, *Archiv IV*, suggested the correct reading.

24. The first three letters of the name Isidora are plainly read here; the last three are obtained from l. 43. κα[τὰ τὸ πρόσ]ταγμα is read instead of τῆς [λαμπρᾶς? πρόσ]ταγμα in *Mél. Nicole*.

25. The second ι of Διοκλητιανοῦ was shifted out of position in pasting the papyrus on the muslin.

26. ἀκολουθῶς καὶ τοῖς is clearly read. See ll. 5, 6. *Mél. Nicole* 190 reads [ἐπιστῶν ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς].

27. There is no doubt of the reading Εὐη[θ]είου. The lower part of η is visible. Wilcken (*Chrest.* 229) surmised correctly that Goodspeed's reading ἀσπ should be ἀ(ν)ε[τῆσθαι].

28. The space, if one regards the alignment at the beginning as approximately regular, permits only ἔχειν, as in l. 7, not Wilcken's <ἐ>σ(χ)[ημέναι]. The τ of πρακτορίας, seen by Goodspeed, is now gone. The lower part of θ of Τιμῶν[θ]εως is legible.

29. The resolution is κοί(της) as in Wilcken. A horizontal stroke through ι indicates the abbreviation. It appears also in 16:(ωτικῆς) throughout this document, where τ cannot be read.

34-38. Summary of the land declared in this column. It is written in the space (end of ll. 29-33) containing the individual entries. Wilcken, in republishing the document without access to the original, rejected this summary as not

belonging to the column at all. There is no question that it does belong. The $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{16}$, $\frac{1}{64}$, of ll. 34, 35, is the sum total of the acreage just declared, divided into "private land," $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{32}$, $\frac{1}{64}$, and "royal land," $\frac{1}{32}$. These totals check. The papyrus is in one connected piece at these lines.

45. There may have been some slight deterioration of the upper layer of the papyrus since Goodspeed read it. His Εὐνοῖον seems to be correct, though it is difficult to determine. The letters might equally well be read Εὐνοῖζ or Εὐνοῖσ.

50. This amount here recorded is the same as that of the "excesses" in l. 54.

53. The total of the "royal land," ($1 \frac{21}{64}$), is made up of $\frac{36}{64}$ (l. 49), $\frac{15}{64}$ (l. 52), and $\frac{34}{64}$ which must have been lost in l. 47. The entries in ll. 48, 51 cannot be used to make up the βασιλική as the amounts are too large. l. 50 gives the πλεονασμός. Remaining to make up the total of the "private land" (somewhat over $9 \frac{1}{32}$ ar., ll. 53, 60) are $3 \frac{19}{64}$ ar. (l. 48) and $1 \frac{49}{64}$ ar. (l. 51). We have therefore restored the lost entry of ἰδωτικῆς (l. 46) at about 4 ar.

59. Goodspeed's ἔγραψα, restored before καί, will not do.

61. Goodspeed seems to have misread the initial s of ἐπὶ αὐτῷ δέκατον as a three obol sign.

63. Wilcken's suggestion, from BGU 553, B III. See Archiv IV 176.

65. The scribe started to write ἐς καὶ (της) here, but decided to leave a larger space between lines, and started the line again below.

74. Αὐρ(ήλιος) instead of Goodspeed's ἔγραψα. This Aurelius Hierax may be the landmeasurer Hierax who appears in coll. I and II.

75. Restored thus from l. 53.

21. REGISTER OF TAX PAYMENTS

Philadelphia

5 ft. x 12 1/4 in.

25 A. D.

The following long daily ledger is interesting for the evidence it gives of the payment of the συντάξιμον in instalments. It records in fifteen columns the daily receipts of the tax collector at Philadelphia. The name of the village does not appear but is determined by the provenience of the group of papyri of which this list was a part. The date we are able to restore from the fortunate discovery at Princeton University of portions of five additional columns of the same ledger. This fragment (*P. Prin. ined. A. N. 8913*) is clearly part of the same roll as the present document at Cornell, despite the fact that the two parts are not contiguous. Not only is the handwriting identical and the general state of the papyrus (in preservation, coloration, etc.) similar, but payments of some of the same persons are preserved in both parts (see table III below). Col. III of the Princeton piece begins $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\iota\beta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ [$\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$] $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\varphi$ δ . Inasmuch as our document contains the end of the roll the Princeton fragment must be placed somewhere before it. The entry Mesore 6th in l. 120 shows that the Epeiph cited above from the Princeton piece must be the month preceding and that the year of both parts is therefore the 11th of Tiberius. The portion of the register lost between the two pieces comprises the entries from the 20th to the 24th of Epeiph.

Of the original roll, then, the following portions (some of them fragmentary) remain:

Epeiph 1-3, ¹ or end of Payni	2 columns	P. Prin. coll.	I-II
Epeiph 4-19	3 "	" "	III-V
Epeiph 24(?) -26	3 "	P. Corn.	I-III
Mesore 2-30	8 1/2 "	" "	IV-XII
Intercalary days 1-4	3 1/2 "	" "	XII-XV

The extent of the roll over two full months makes it possible to form a rough estimate of the native population of Philadelphia in 25 A.D. The entries in the roll average 37 to the column. Epeiph with 8 columns and Mesore with 8 1/2 have respectively, then, 296 and 314 payments. Using round numbers, 300 entries per month for 12 months plus 109 entries for the intercalary days gives a total of about 3700 entries. In view of the evidence we present below, we infer that almost all of the taxpayers appear three or four times during the year. Dividing 3700 by 3 and 4, therefore, we obtain the number of persons paying the tax as somewhere between 1230 and 920. These are the adult males (i.e. between the ages of 14 and 60) of the native population of Philadelphia. Assuming that adults comprise half any given population,²

¹ We suggest the possibility that the first column of the Princeton fragment contains the entries for Epeiph 1-3, in view of the beginning of col. III with Epeiph 4 and the similar beginning of a section of the Cornell roll with Mesore 7 (l. 120). We cannot explain why the dating should be made at the 4th or the 7th rather than at the beginning of the month. The Princeton date is at the head, that of Cornell in the middle, of a column. There is in neither case a change of scribe.

² See J. A. Baines in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.) XXII 92-94. The tables there given are based upon modern statistics, but may easily be applied, in a general estimate like the present one, to antiquity. The relations between adults and total population and between males and females (tables II and IV) seem reasonably constant under widely different conditions.

we conclude that the total number of males is between 1840 and 2460. If the females be considered somewhat less numerous (see note above) we may estimate finally that the total native population of Philadelphia in 25 A. D. was roughly 3500-4500. Cf. the estimate of Grenfell and Hunt, in *P. Fay.* p. 38, of the population of Bacchias at about 3000 persons.

The present document is chiefly interesting as an example of a register recording all payments of the *συντάξιμον* as they were made. From such an account as this was compiled (with the bureaucratic indifference to unnecessary clerical labor shrewdly noticed by Preisigke) the alphabetical abstract of payments, *P. Fay.* 153 (= *Archiv* IV, pp. 95 ff.). The evidence for the payment of the tax in instalments we arrange, for convenience, in tabular form. Table I shows, by totals, the irregular manner in which the taxes were paid into the collector's office. The only indication of systematic payment is the steady increase in Mesore from the 6th to the 11th, and the decrease from the 11th to the 16th, which is followed by a week of no records at all. The rather large amounts for the last five days reflect, presumably, the natural human desire to postpone payments as long as possible. The Princeton fragment is not included.¹

¹ Our identification of the two pieces was made from examination of the originals, but our readings of *P. Prin. ined.* A. M. 8913 are taken from a photostat copy kindly supplied to us by the Princeton Library. Owing to the broken character of the fragment an adequate text cannot be obtained from the photostat and we do not attempt to read in detail or even number the lines. We feel confident that a careful reading of the original will reveal other points of contact than those enumerated in table III, but the examples there given are sufficient for our present purpose of proving conclusively that the pieces are fragments of the same roll.

TABLE I

MONTH	DAY	PAYMENTS	DAILY TOTALS	LINES
[Epeiph]	24 (?)	8+	128 drachmas	1-12
"	25	11	84 "	15-25
"	26	7+	36+ "	26-32
[Mesore]	2	?	?	33-?
"	3	?	308 "	?-87
"	4	10	44 (?) "	88-98
"	5	16	140 "	99-116
"	6	2	24 "	117-119
Mesore	7	3	48 "	120-124
"	9	3	68 "	125-128
"	10	6	32 "	129-135
"	11	46	560 "	136-132
"	12	40	352 (?) "	133-223
"	13	15	208 "	224-239
"	14	10	100 "	240-250
"	16	2	88 "	251-253
"	23	1	36 "	254-255
"	24	14	200 "	256-270
"	25	15	200 "	271-286
"	26	11	244 (?) "	287-299
"	28	1	4 "	300-301
"	30	13	130 "	302-315
Intercalary days	1	32	448 "	316-349
"	2	13	132 "	350-363
"	3	41	364 "	364-405
"	4	23	120 "	406-429

Table II gives a synopsis of the payments when these were made in two or three instalments. Table III lists those instalments which are recorded on both the Cornell and Princeton pieces or on the Princeton piece alone. An asterisk indicates the payment of extra charges (προσδιαγραφόμενα); P. and Roman numerals indicate columns in the Princeton portion, C. and Arabic numerals indicate lines in the Cornell document.

TABLE

	FIRST PAYMENT	
	AMT.	DATE
Ammonis s. of Ammonis	28	Mesore 13th
Anoubion s. of Praxias	8*	Mesore 4th
Anoubion s. of Phaesis	12	Mesore 5th
Apollonis slave of Theon	4	Mesore 11th
Apynchis s. of Marres	32	Intercal. 1st
Apynchis s. of Mysthas	8	Mesore 25th
Atommys s. of Petosiris	8	Mesore 11th
Dicranes' sons: Harphaesis	8	Mesore 3rd
Heraoles	4	"
Peteuchus	4	"
Theon	4	"
Esouris s. of Apynchis	8	Mesore 3rd
Harmiusis s. of Aynnnis	28*	Mesore 26th
Harphaësis s. of Onnophris	8	Mesore 12th
Harphaësis s. of Pompsais	4	Epeiph 26th
Hatres s. of Didymus	4	Mesore 12th
Hatres s. of Ischyron	12	Mesore 3rd
Hatres s. of Paneousis	4	Epeiph 25th
Heraoles (or Lyous) s. of Heraoles	20	Epeiph 26th
Hermias s. of Petearmotes	4	Mesore 4th
Hestias' sons: Hestias junior	20	Mesore 12th
Hestias (athot. . .)	20	"
Hestias (keb. . .)		(No payment)
Lysimachus s. of Sambas	28	Intercal. 1st
Hareotes' sons: Hatres	4	Epeiph 26th
Mysthas		(No payment)
Theon	4	Epeiph 26th
Neopheros s. of Ischyron	12	Mesore 6th
Neothnephis s. of Psenobastis	12	Epeiph 25th
Orsenouphis' sons: Heraclides	4	Epeiph 25th
Orsenouphis	4	"
Pnepheros	4	"
Panetbys s. of Pithon	8	Mesore 12th

SECOND PAYMENT		THIRD PAYMENT		TOTAL	LINES	COMMENTS
AMT.	DATE	AMT.	DATE			
12	Mesore 30th			40	237,304	Both on same day Second payment day after first
4	Mesore 24th			12*	90,258	
4*	Intercal. 3rd			16*	106,383	
4*	Mesore 25th			8*	150,279	
12*	Intercal. 1st			44*	333,340	
8*	Mesore 26th			16*	272,292	
4	Mesore 25th			12	151,278	
*	Intercal. 3rd			8*	68,388	
*	"			4*	71,389	
*	"			4*	69,390	
*	"			4*	70,387	
4	Mesore 14th			12	86,244	
8	Intercal. 1st	8	Intercal. 3rd	44*	298,347,366	
12	Intercal. 3rd			20	186,404	
4*	Intercal. 4th			8*	27,407	
4	Intercal. 2nd			8	195,352	
4	Intercal. 1st			16	72,325	
4	Intercal. 1st			8	23,336	
8	Mesore 14th			28	31,245	
4*	Mesore 10th			8*	99,132	
8	Mesore 13th			28	203,231	
4	"			24	204,232	
24	"			24	233	
8	Intercal. 3rd			32	319,374	
4	Mesore 11th	4*	Mesore 30th	12*	28,177,309	
4	"	8*	"	12*	179,310	
4	"	4*	"	12*	29,178,308	
8*	Mesore 12th			20*	117,217	
4	Intercal. 3rd			16	18,379	
4	Mesore 11th			8	21,166	
4	"			8	20,167	
4	"			8	19,168	
4	Mesore 24th			12	193,268	

TABLE II

	FIRST PAYMENT	
	AMT.	DATE
Panetbys s. of Hermias	28	Mesore 12th
Papontos s. of Necpheros	12	Mesore 6th
Penaus s. of Mysthas	32	Mesore 11th
Petermouthis s. of Mysthas	20	Mesore 3rd
Petermouthis s. of Petesouchus	16*	Mesore 3rd
Petesouchus s. of Ischyriion	36	Mesore 3rd
Petosiris s. of Psenobastis	8	Mesore 24th
Phasis s. of Mysthas	4*	Mesore 4th
Phasis s. of Petosiris	20	Mesore 5th
Pnepheros s. of Petosiris	16	Mesore 11th
Socmenis s. of Heraclas	12	Epeiph 25th
Harpaësis s. of Harphaësis	8	Mesore 2nd
<i>In the following cases there is some</i>		
Conon s. of Hareotes	8	Epeiph 26th
Peteuchus s. of Neopheros	4	Mesore 6th
Panetbys s. of Horion	4	Mesore 5th

TABLE

	FIRST PAYMENT	
	AMT.	DATE
Sambas s. of Heracles	20	Epeiph 4th
His sons: Heraclides	20	"
[Dioscus]	20	"
Orsenouphis s. of Petemounis	8	Epeiph 16th
Isidorus s. of Peteuchus	?	Epeiph 15th
Harmiusis s. of Heracles	?	Epeiph 15th
Mithradates s. of Pasion	?	Epeiph 19th
Heracles s. of Heracles	?	Epeiph 19th
Petermouthis s. of Psenobastis	?	Epeiph 19th

(continued)

SECOND PAYMENT		THIRD PAYMENT		TOTAL	LINES	COMMENTS
AMT.	DATE	AMT.	DATE			
4*	Intercal. 4th			32*	220,418	Also false entry, l. 221
4	Mesore 12th			16	118,218	
4*	Mesore 25th			36*	180,271	
8*	Mesore 13th			28*	83,238	
7	Mesore 26th			?*	80,287	
7	Mesore 26th			?	73,288	
8*	Intercal. 1st			16*	256,329	
8	Mesore 11th			12*	96,202	
12	Intercal. 3rd			32	100,392	
16	Mesore 14th			32	163,248	
8	Intercal. 1st			20	24,344	
4*	Intercal. 4th			12*	42,409	
doubt as to the identity of the payers.						
8	Mesore 30th			16	32,314	
?*	Intercal. 3rd			?*	121,371	
4*	Mesore 13th			8*	105,236	

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SECOND PAYMENT		THIRD PAYMENT		LINES
AMT.	DATE	AMT.	DATE	
4	Mesore 4th			P. III; C. 92
4	"			P. III; C. 93
4	"			P. III; C. 94
8	Epeiph 16th	8	Intercal. 3rd	P. IV; C. 364
16	Intercal. 1st			P. III; C. 317
32?	Mesore 7th			P. III; C. 122
8*	Intercal. 3rd			P. V; C. 365
20	Intercal. 1st			P. V; C. 322
8*	Mesore 26th			P. V; C. 296

From these tables the following facts may be summarized:

1. All payments of the *συρτάξιμον* are made in amounts which vary according to the desire of the taxpayer, but which are without exception multiples of 4 dr.

2. The total annual tax is 44 dr. plus fees. This sum is paid both by Apynchis son of Marres (in two instalments, ll. 333, 340) and by Harmiusis son of Aynnnis (in three instalments, ll. 298, 347, 336). The assumption which Preisigke made in *Archiv* IV 103-105 that the payments of 44 1/2 dr. 2 chal. found in *P. Fay.* 153 were for the poll tax he abandoned subsequently in *Girowesen* 253 note 6. They are for the *συρτάξιμον*, as here.

3. The fees (*προσδιαγραφόμενα*) are payable once, at any time at the will of the taxpayer. In this list they are generally paid together with one of the later instalments, but in some cases (ll. 380, 386-390) they are paid alone, that is, apart from any instalment. The amount (5 chal.) is markedly smaller than that of *P. Fay.* 153 (3 ob. 2 chal.). It may be noted here that although duly recorded they are not included in the total daily receipts. They were thus treated as part of a special fund or account.

4. The instalments may be paid at any time convenient to the taxpayer. The interval between payments ranges in the document from less than a day¹ (ll. 333, 340) to over two months (ll. 27, 407 and frequently). It is clear that many of the men who appear but once in this list and whose remaining instalments were spread over the other nine months must have paid at intervals much greater than two months.

¹In the Princeton fragment (col. III) two successive lines record payments of 8 and 4 dr. respectively by Orsenouphis son of Petemounis. There is no mistake, for the total for the day (32 dr.) includes both. It is clear that Orsenouphis after making one payment completed some financial arrangement which enabled him to return some time later to make a second payment, the office of the tax collector in the meanwhile remaining idle.

5. The tax register, at least in this case, is compiled for the year beginning with Thoth (Aug. 29) and ending with the intercalary days (Aug. 24-28). There are in our document no entries for the last day, Aug. 28.

The papyrus is written in a good cursive hand which becomes increasingly smaller toward the end of the document, but which seems to be that of the same scribe throughout. It is fairly well preserved, but there are numerous lacunae. The surface is broken in places, and the tops of the opening columns have been lost. The list has been carefully checked, each entry having at the beginning a short, thick, diagonal stroke obviously added later by a different pen. In addition, some of the entries, especially in col. IX, have a second check placed over the numeral at the end of the line. In view of this fact and the circumstance that three entries have been bracketed (see note to l. 223), we conclude that for some reason the account was doubly audited for this day (the 12th). Col. XV was the last sheet in the document, as is shown by the many blots to the right of the column caused by rolling the papyrus before the ink was quite dry, and also by the fact that the edge of the sheet proves it to have been cut at the end of the last column.

Many of the names have not occurred before or afford new spellings. Not mentioned in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, are: Αιβης, Αντιτος, 'Αρεντούτης, 'Ατίλων, Ατομμος, 'Αῶρσις, 'Ερμόις, 'Εστίης, Καλλεποτρατος(?), Νεκθνήφης, Θημυος(?), Νεμίων, Καλλίδωρος, Κυριεύς, Λάκωνος, Νεκθατυμω(), Παναφρεύς, Πανομεύς, Πεσκῶς(?), Πίθων, Πιτῆς, Πανερβύς, Πανηοῦσις, Παντές, Παπμῦμις, Παχυνῶβις, Πεγκμοῦνος (gen.), Πεκρη(), Περφῶς, Πετεθᾶς, Πετῦς, Πεῦς, Πομψᾶς, Πομψάις, Ποῦις, Πουῶνις, Πρόγανος, Πτομαίς, Σμυριτο(), Τρυφωνατο(), Φανθ(), Ψάμμων, Ψεναθῶς, Ψοντωνοῦς. Following the patronymics of many of the taxpayers are the beginnings of other names or of trades. In most cases these are too abbreviated to admit of resolution. Several of them offer special problems which

are discussed in the notes. Where they refer undoubtedly to names, we assume that the grandfather's name is indicated rather than the double name in the nominative (for which see *BGU* 1196 23n), in view of the fact that double names are indicated by $\delta\varsigma$ καί in the margin, and that at least in l. 359 and possibly elsewhere only a genitive can be read. Against this view is the use of the article in l. 362 to denote the grandfather. There is no other example of this usage, however, and the reading in that line is not certain. We resolve the abbreviations, therefore, as genitives. The use of the nominative for the patronymic is common (see e. g. ll. 39, 43, 44, and cf. *BGU* 630 n).

On the verso is a brief list of men paying taxes of 45 dr. 2 ob. and 13 dr. 2 ob. for the 19th to the 21st year of Tiberius.

Col. I

Four entries, the names doubtful; the amounts:
 η (ἡμιωβέλιον) χ (αλκοῦς) α,¹ ιβ, δ, δ.

Col. II

Four broken lines with the amounts ιβ, η, δ, ιβ cχ^α.

9	Δικράνη(ς)	] Ἐριέως πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)	ιβ
	Ὠρίων	Ἀρφαήσεως	η
	ῥκη	Παχνῦβις	δ
12	ῥκη	Πομπᾶς	κδ

Col. III

about 17 lines lost

	κῆ		
	..].μα[
15	Ἀρμι[	] (ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος)	ιβ

¹In order to save space we do not resolve the symbol for (ἡμιωβέλιον) χ (αλκοῦς) α in the lines following.

	Παῦσις	.εκ..υ...	δ
	Πολέμων	Πολεμοκρ[άτο]υ	δ
	Νεκθνήφης	Ψενοβάστις	ιβ
	Πνεφερῶς	Ὀρσενούφε[ω]ς	δ
20	Ὀρσενούφης	Ὀρσενούφεω ^ς Αἰα(το)	δ
	Ἡρακλείδη(ς)	Ὀρσενούφεω ^ς	δ
	Παπροντῶς	Προγάνο(υ) Χαίρημω(νος)	δ
	Ἀτρῆς	Πανηοῦσις	δ
	Σοκμήνις	Ἡρακλήου	ιβ
25	πδ		
	κζ Διοσκοῦς	(ὁμοίως)	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀρφαῆσις	Πομπάις	δ
	Ἀτρῆς	Ἀρεώτου	δ
	Θέων	Ἀρεώτου	δ
30	Χρύσιππος	(ὁμοίως)	ιβ
	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	ὁς κ(αὶ) Λύκο(ς) Ἡρακλῆ(ου)	κ
	Κώνων	Ἀρεώτου	η

Col. IV

about 27 lines lost

	β Α..ας[		]ιβ
	...στας[	..]δριω..	μδ cχ ^α
35	Πατ..[	(ὁμοίως)...	η
	Σαμβᾶς	Ἀραβίωνος	δ
	Χαίρημων	Ἀπίωνος	δ cχ ^α
	[[ῥωρος]]	Αμβη()	ιβ
	ῥωρος	Σαμβᾶς γέρδ(ιος)	κ
40	Πεταρψενῆ(σις)	Σισόιτος	ιβ
	Ἡλιόδωρος	Διοσκουρίδου	η
	Ἀρφαῆσις	(ὁμοίως) Παλεμοῦ(τος)	η

Col. V

	]	Ἀρψῆμις	η
	]	Ἀρψῆμις	[[η]]δ
45	]ης	Σισόιτος	η

	]	Πετε[ύ]χου	δ
	]ς	θοτορταίου	ιβ cχ ^α
	]	Ἰσχυρίωνος .σω()	δ
	]	Πανετβ(ύιος)	δ
50	]	Πανετβ(ύιος)	δ

Traces of 15 lines, the amounts legible being: κ, η, ιβ, κ cχ^α, δ cχ^α, ιβ, ιβ, δ, η.

66	Πτόλλις	Πραξιού	
	Πραξίας	Π..δος	δ
	Ἀρφαῆσις	Δικράνου	η cχ ^α
	Πετεῦχος	Δικράνου	δ
70	Θέων	Δικράνου	δ
	Ἡρακλῆς	Δικρά[νου]	δ
	Ἀτρῆς	Ἰσχυρίωνος	ιβ
	Πετεσοῦχος	Ἰσχυρίωνος	λς
	Κολλόυθος	Ψενατῦμις πρεσβ(ύτερος)	κ
75	Ὄρος	(ὁμοίως) Ἀτίλω(νος)	η
	Ἡρακλῆς	Ὄρου Ἀτίλω(νος)	δ
	Ἀτρῆς	Ἡρακλή(ου)	η cχ ^α
	Πετοσίρις	(ὁμοίως) Ταερασα()	δ

Col. VI

	Χαιρήμων	..πεαρμου	μδ cχ ^α
80	Πετερμοῦθ(ίς)	Πετεσοῦχου	ις cχ ^α
	Ἀπολλῶνις	Μύσθου	ιβ
	Ἐσοῦρις	Ψεναθῶτο(ς)	κδ
	Πετερμοῦθ(ίς)	Μύσθου	κ
	Πετεῦχος	...κφρευς	η
85	Ἡεμφερῶς	Π[ε]τεσοῦχ(ου)	ιβ
	Ἐσοῦρις	Α[πύ]γχ(εως)	η
	τη		
	δ Μέλλας	Τρυφῶνατο()	δ
	Ἡρμίας	Π[ε]τεαρμῶτο(υ)	δ

90	Ἀνουβίων	Πρα[ξί]ου	η	εχ ^α
	Ἀρεώτης	Α[.]ωνιδος	δ	εχ ^α
	Σαμβᾶς	Ἡρακλήου	δ	
	Ἡρακλείδης(ς)	Σαμβᾶτος	δ	
	Διοσκοῦς	Σαμβᾶτ[ος]	δ	
95	Ψάμις	(ὁμοίως)	δ	εχ ^α
	Φᾶσις	[Μύς]θου	δ	εχ ^α
	Ἀκουσίλαος	Σαταβοῦτος	[.]	
	Ἐ[.]....	Ἀμβήσεως γέρδ(ιος)	δ	
100	Φ[ᾶ]σις	Πετοσίρις Λάκων(ος)	κ	
	....]ης	Δι[οσ]κουρίδου	δ	
	.....]ς	[Πτ]όλλιδος	δ	
	...]ουῶτις	Πτόλλιδος	δ	
	...]βας	Ἀρώπου	η	εχ ^α
105	Π[α]ντβεῦς	ᾠρίωνος	δ	
	Ἀνουβίων	Θαήσεως	ιβ	
	Πετεῦχ(ος)	Πα.υοτο()	κδ	εχ ^α
	Ἡρακλείδης(ς)	Πάλου	δ	
	Ὀρσενούφης	Πετάλου	δ	
110	Ἰσχυρίων	Βισοῦς	ιβ	
	ᾠρος	Παχνούβεως	δ	
	Ἀπύγχις	Ἡρακλείδου	η	
	Πακοῦς	Ὀννώφρεως	η	
	ρκδ			
115	ἄλ(λος) ἔ Σισόις	(ὁμοίως) πρεσβ(ύτερος)	ις	
	ις			

Col. VII

	Νεκφερῶς	Ἰσχυρίωνος	ιβ	
	Παποντῶς	Νεκφερῶς	ιβ	
	κδ			
120	Μ[εσ]ορ[ή] ζ ι[α] (ἔτους)			
	Πετεῦχ[ο]ς	Νεκφερῶτο(ς) γέρδ(ιος)	δ	
	Ἀρμιῦσι[ς]	Ἡρακλήου κωρτω()	[λ?]β	

	...[]	(ὁμοίως) Μυκ()	[ι?]β
	μη		
125	Θ 'Ισχυρίων	Μελλ.υ[...]ίου	κ
	Θ[έ]ων	'Η[ρα]κλή(ου) ...ρα...	[ις?] cχ ^α
	Παποντῶς	Πισάιτος	[λ?]β
	ξη		
	Τ 'Ισχυρίων	Πανετβύιος	η
130	Ῥρος	Πετεοῦ(τος) 'Αρφαή(σεως)	δ
	'Ηρακλῆς	'Ερμίου	δ
	'Ερμίας	Πετσαρμῶτο(υ)	δ cχ ^α
	'Ηρακλῆ	Νεκθυμῆ(ς)	δ
	Κάλλις	(ὁμοίως) Νεκφε(ρῶτος)	η
135	λβ		
	ια 'Αρεώτης ^{Πετ:}	Σισόιτος	κ
	'Αρφαῆσις	'Εριεύς γέρδ(ιος)	δ
	'Εκτωρ	Πετεύχου	ιβ
	Παντές	Πνεφερῶτο(ς)	δ

Col. VIII

140	Παναφρεῦς	Μύσθ(ου)	δ
	Παλομί[.]ων	νε(ώτερος) Μύσθ(ου)	δ
	Σοκν[ο]ῶ[ν]ις	[[Ισ] 'Ισχυρίωνος	.
	Πεναῦς	'Απύγχεως	λβ
	'Αρσάις	'Απολλω()	ιβ
145	'Απολλῶνις	(ὁμοίως)	η
	'Ανουβίων	'Ηρακλή(ου)	ις cχ ^α
	Παν[.]ς	πρεσβ(ύτερος) 'Αρμάις	κ
	Μ.[]	(ὁμοίως)	κ
	Ανν[]	(ὁμοίως)	κη cχ ^α
150	'Απολλ[ῶν]ις	δοῦλος θεῶνος	δ
	Ατομμυς	Πετοσίρεως	η
	Παχνοῦβις	Πετοσίρις	η
	'Αμμῶνις	Μύσθ(ου) Ποῦις	η
	Διόσκορος	Πετοσίρεως	η
155	'Ωρίων	Λεωνίδου	η

	Μ...ους	Παποντῶ(τος)	μδ
	Καλλισυτρ[.....]	(ὁμοίως) Φανθ()	[ι]β
	.....ς	Πετεύχ(ου) γέρδ(ιος)	δ
	Ἀρπ[αμ]οῦς	(ὁμοίως) χαλκε(ύς)	η
160	Πνεφερῶς	Ψενοβάστις	ις
	Α.....	Ἡ[ρ]ακλείδο(υ) γέρδ(ιος)	δ
	Π. []	(ὁμοίως) Αννο()	κδ cχα
	Πνεφ[ερῶ]ς	Πετοσίρε(ως) Δάκω(νος)	ις
	Πετῆυχ[ο]ς	Πετῆσούχο(υ) Ψ()	ις
165	Πετῆυχος	Ἀώρσεως νε(ώτερος)	η
	Ἡρακλείδης	Ὀρσενούφως	δ
	Ὀρσενούφης	(ὁμοίως) Απατο()	δ
	Πνεφερῶς	Ὀρσενούφω(ς)	δ
	Ἀρφαῆσις	Νεκφερῶτο(ς) Ἀρω(νος)	δ
170	Σισδίς	Ζωίλου	δ
	Ψενοσ.....	Περμούθ(ιος)	κ
	Πε...[]	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	κδ
	Πετ.[...]ς	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	δ cχα?
	.εα.τη(ς)	Πνεφερῶ(τος) Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	η

Col. IX

175	Ὀννῶφρις	Πετεμοῦνις	ιβ
	Ὀρος	Πεγχοῦνος	ις
	Ἀτρῆς	Πατῆυς	δ
	Θέων	Ἀρεώτου	δ
	Μύσθας	Ἀρεώτου	δ
180	Πεναῦς	Μύσθου	λβ
	Πανετβ(ύς)	Παποντῶς	κη
	φε		
	ιβ Θέων	Στρατίπου sic	ις
	Ὀννῶφρις	Πεταρψε(νήσιος)	η
185	Ἐριεῦ[ς]	Παῶτος	δ
	Ἀρφαῆσις	Ὀννῶφρεως	η
	(([Ἀ]τρῆς	Παῶτος	δ))
	Σαμβᾶς	Κερᾶτος	δ cχα

	Ἡρακλῆς	Κερᾶτος	δ	cχ ^α
190	Διοσχοῦ[υ]ς	Κερᾶτος	δ	cχ ^α
	Πόλλων	(ὁμοίως) .ωτη()	δ	
	Πόλλων	(ὁμοίως) υἱός	δ	
	Παν[ετ]βῦς	Πίθωνος	η	
	Ἀτρῆς	(ὁμοίως)	δ	
195	Ἀτρῆς	Διδύμου	δ	
	Ἀρφαῖς[ι]ς	Ἄρκους	δ	
	[...].φ...ς	Πανετβύιος	ις	
	Μύσθας	Ἡρᾶτ[ο]ς	κ	
	Πανετβῦς	Πν[ε]φερῶτο(ς)	λς	
200	(Πανετβ(ῦς)	Νεκφερῶτο(ς) Κυλ()	λς))	
	Πανετβῦς	Π[ν]εφερῶ(τος) Πεκρη()	η	
	Φᾶσις	Μύσθ(ου)	η	
	Ἐστίης	(ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος)	κ	
	Ἐστίης	(ὁμοίως) αθ(ωτο)	κ	
205	Νεμίων	Ἰσυ.εου	η	cχ ^α
	Πακ[.]ς	Ἐριέως πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)	ις	
	Πετεῦς	ὁς κ(αὶ) Νεκφε(ρῶς) Πεῦτο(ς)	δ	
	Πετῦς	Φιλαργύρου	η	
	Πετεῦχος	Νεκφερῶ(τος) πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)	δ	cχ ^α
210	Μελαγχόμας	Ἡρακλήου	δ	cχ ^α
	Σαμβᾶς	(ὁμοίως) Κεῶτρεα()	δ	
	Πεμφῶς	Σαμβᾶτος	δ	
	Σαμβᾶς	Ἡρακλήου Πνεφε(ρῶτος)	η	
	Πετερμούθ(ις)	ὁς κ(αὶ) Ψοντωνοῦς Σμυρ.()	κ	
215	Πόλυς	Ἰσχυρίωνος	ιβ	
	Κεφάλων	Η...ίου	η	

Col. X

	Νεκφερ[ῶς]	Ἰσχυρίωνος	η	cχ ^α
	Παποντ[ῶ]ς	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	δ	
	Ὀρσενούφ[ι]ς	Ἀμῶτος	δ	cχ ^α
220	Πανετβῦς	Ἐρμίου	κη	
	(Παποντῶς	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	δ	cχ ^α)

	Πετεῦς	Νεκφε(ρῶτος) Ἀρούθ(μεως)	δ
	τυβ		
	! [Υ] Περῶς	Σαμβᾶτος	δ
225	Νεκφερῶς	Πουῶνεως	δ
	Πακοῦς	νε(ώτερος) Ὀννώφρεως	δ
	Μύσθ(ας)	Νεκφε(ρῶτος) Τιμ.η()	η
	Πετοσίρις	Πανεκᾶτο(ς)	η
	Ἰσχυρίων	Πετεθᾶτο(ς)	μδ
230	Πετεσοῦχος	ερ.() Ἀρκους Πνεφ(ερῶτος)	μ
	Ἐστίης	(ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος)	η
	Ἐστίης	(ὁμοίως) αθωτο()	δ
	Ἐστίης	(ὁμοίως) κεβ()	κδ
	Πνεφερῶς	(ὁμοίως) Κερ.()	ιβ cχ ^α
235	Πετοσίρις	Πετερμο(ύθιος) Κυτ.()	η
	Πανετβ(ύς)	Ὀρίωνος Φίλω(νος)	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀμμῶνις	(ὁμοίως) πρε(σ)β(υτέρου) Κυρ.()	κη
	Πετερμοῦθ(ις)	Μύσθ(ου)	η cχ ^α
	ση		
240	ιδ Ὀρος	Τεῶτος ποιμή(ν)	ιβ
	Ὀρίων	Πτολεμαίου Ψδῖς	δ
	Ἀρχωνᾶς	Πετοσίρις Ἡγρου(μένου)	δ
	Πακοῦς	Ἀρεντῶτο(υ)	η cχ ^α
	Ἐσοῦρις	Ἀπύγχεως	δ
245	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	ὁς κ(αὶ) Λύκο(ς) (ὁμοίως)	η
	Πτομαιο	(ὁμοίως) γρ(αμματεὺς)	κδ
	Παπεσνεῦς	Κεφάλω(νος)	ιβ
	Πνεφερῶς	Πετοσίρις Λάκ(ωνος)	ιβ
	Ἀρμιῦσις	Πνεφερῶ(τος) Λάκ(ωνος)	δ
250	ρ		
	ιβ Κερᾶς	Ἀρφαῆσις Σαμβ(ᾶτος)	μδ
	Πετεσοῦχος	Πανετβ(ύιος)	μδ cχ ^α
	πη		
	κγ Ἀκουσίλαος	Ἑρμόιτος	λς
255	λς		

Col. XI

	κδ Πετοσῖρις	Ψενοβάστεως	η
	Ἀρμιῦσις	Πανετβ(ύιος)	κη
	Ἀνουβίων	Πραξίου	δ
	Ἐριεῦς	(ὁμοίως) Κρ..()	ιβ
260	Νεκφερῶ(ς)	Πνεφε(ρῶτος) Ιερ.()	η
	Νεκφερῶς	Θέωνος	μδ
	Δῖτος	Ἡρακλή(ου) Ψύλλο(υ)	κ
	Ἀρφαῖσις	δς κ(αἰ) Σωτήριχ(ος) Πετεσοῦχ(ου)	κη
	Νεκφερῶς	Παπμῦμις	η
265	Ἀμβης	(ὁμοίως) γέρδ(ιος)	ιβ
	Ἀπύγχις	νε(ώτερος) Ψάμμωνος	ιβ cχ ^α
	Μύσθας	Νεκφερῶ(τος) ..θ()	δ
	Πανετβ(ῦς)	Πίθωνος	δ
	Τιτάν	Ἀπολλω()	η cχ ^α
270	σ		
	κε Πεγαῦς	Μύσθου	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀπύγχις	Μύσθ(ου)	η
	Ἐσοῦρις	Σαμβᾶτος	δ cχ ^α
	Φᾶσις	Φήσεως	ιβ
275	Παν[ε]τβῦς	Πετοσῖρις	[] cχ ^α
	Δίδυμος	Πετοσῖρις	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀμμῶνις	Μύσθ(ου)	δ
	Ατομμυς	[Π]ε[τ]οσῖρις	δ
	Ἀπολλῶνις	δοῦλος Θεων(ος)	δ cχ ^α
280	Ἰσχυρίων	(ὁμοίως) πρε(σ)β(ύτερος)	..
	Ἰσχυρίων	(ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος)	.
	Μύσθας	Πτολεμαίουχ()	μ
	Ἡρων	Πτολεμαίουχ()]	.. cχ ^α
	Μύσθας	Ἡρακλή(ου) Θεῶ(νος)	.. cχ ^α ?
285	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Μύσθ(ου) Θ...	.
	σ		
	κζ Πετερμοῦθ(ις)	Π[ε]τεσοῦ]χο[υ]	.
	Πετεσοῦχος	Ἰσχυρίωνος	[]

	Πνεφερῶς	Νεκφερῶ(τος) Π[.]σ()	μ
290	Πάεις	Πεσῃῶτο(ς)	[]
	Πανετβ(ῦς)	Πετεμ[]	[]
	Ἀπύγχις	Μύσθου	η cχ ^α

Col. XII

	ῥωρος	πρε(σ)β(ύτερος) Ἀτίλω(νος)	δ cχ ^α
	ῥωρος	(ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος)	δ cχ ^α
295	Παμ...ευσ	Μ[.]λλκω() νε(ώτερος)	δ cχ ^α
	Πετερμουῖθ(ις)	Ψενοβάστεω(ς)	η cχ ^α χ
	ϣις		
	ῥλ(λος) κϣ Ἀρμιῦσις Ἀμούνε(ως)		κη cχ ^α
	κῃ		
300	κῃ Πτολεμαῖς	(ὁμοίως) Χεθῶ(τος)	δ cχ ^α
	δ		
	λ Ψα...τισνεῦς	Πραξίου	κδ
	Πανετβ(ῦς)	Πετερμουῖνις	κη
	Ἀμμῶνις	(ὁμοίως) πρε(σ)β(ύτερος) Κο()	ιβ
305	Ἡρακλῆς	Μύσθ(ου) πρε(σ)[β(ύτερος)] Φανῶ(τος)	ιβ cχ ^α
	Μύσθας	Ἡρακλῆ(ου)	ιβ
	Ἡρακλῆς	(ὁμοίως) Προγ(άνου?) Λαρω()	η
	Θέων	Ἀρε[ῶ]το(υ)	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀτρεῆς	[Ἀρεῶ]το(υ)	[δ] cχ ^α
310	Μύσθας	Ἀρ[ε]ῶτο(υ)	η cχ ^α
	Ῥρίω(ν)	(ὁμοίως)	μ cχ ^α
	.....	Ἀπίωνος	ιβ
	Ἀπίων	Ἀπίω[νο]ς	η
	.....ν	Ἀρεῶτο(υ)	η
315	ρπ		
	Ἐπ]αγομέ(νων) ᾱ		
	[Ἰ]σίδωρος	Πετεύχου	ις
	[..]ετῆων	Ἰσχυρίωνο(ς)	λς cχ ^α
	Λυσίμαχος	Σαμβᾶτος	κη
320	[..]της	(ὁμοίως)	ιβ
	..της	(ὁμοίως) υἱός	ις

	Ἡρακλῆς	(ὁμοίως)	κ
	Παμσνεῦς	Πετοσίρις	δ
	Παπεσνέῦς	Ἑρμόιτο(ς)	μδ cχ ^α
325	Ἀτρῆς	Ἰσχυρίωνος	δ
	Πετρεμοῦνις	Ἰσχυρίωνος	δ
	.....	Ἀρεντώτο(υ)	ιβ
	....τος	Σαταβοῦτο(ς)	δ
	Πετοσίρις	Ψενοβάστε(ως)	η cχ ^α
330	...ους	(ὁμοίως)	η
	Π...φρως	Π[απ]οῦτος	η
	.....( )	Παποῦτος	ιβ
	[Ἀ]πύγχ(ις)	Μαρρῆ(τος)	λβ

Col. XIII

	Ἡρακλῆς	Πετεύχου	ιβ
335	Ἀπολλῶνις	Ἡρακλήου	η
	Ἀτρῆς	Πανηοῦσις	δ
	Πανετβῦς	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	[ιβ]
	Ἐριεῦς	Σωκράτο(υ)	μ
	Πετεῦχ(ος)	(ὁμοίως) νε(ώτερος) Ποῦις	ιβ
340	Ἀπύγχ(ις)	Μαρρῆ(τος)	ιβ cχ ^α
	Πετεῦχος	Πετοσίρις Λάκ(ωνος)	η cχ ^α
	Πετερμοῦθ(ις)	Πνεφερῶτος	η
	Φᾶσις	Ἡρακλήου	ιβ
	Σοκμήνις	Ἡρακλήου	η
345	Μύσθας	Ἰσχυρίω(νος) χαλκ(εύς)	η
	Φᾶσις	Θημυου	ις cχ ^α
	Ἀρμιῦσις	Ἀμῦννεως	η
	Πολλοῦς	Πτολεμαίου Ψ()	ιβ
	υμη		
350	β̄ Κολ[λ]οῦθος	Ὀννώφρεως	η
	Πετε[μο]ῦνις	Τεῶτος	δ cχ ^α
	Ἀτρ[ῆς]	Διδύμου	δ
	Ἡρακλῆς	Φαήσεως	κδ
	Πολ[έ]μων	(ὁμοίως) Ἀτερῖο(υ)	δ

355	Ἐριεῦς	(ὁμοίως) Μύσθ(ου)	δ
	Πολέμω(ν)	(ὁμοίως) Ἀρεντούτη(ς)	δ
	Ζωίλος	Παν. ὤσε()	ις
	Ἀρατρῆς	Ψενοσῖρις	ις
	Ὀννώφρις	(ὁμοίως) Σενύρεω(ς)	κδ
360	Πα[νε]τβῦς	Ἀμμωνίου	ιβ
	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Ἀτρήους	δ
	Ἀτρῆς	(ὁμοίως) τοῦ Διογέ(νου?)	η
	ρλβ		
	Υ Ὀρσενοῦφίς	Πεταμοῦν[ι]ς	η
365	Μιθραδάτη(ς)	Πασίωνος	η cχ ^α
	Ἀρμιῦσις	Ἀμύννεω	η
	Πεταρψενῆ(σις)	(ὁμοίως)	η
	Ἀμμῶνις	Ἡρακλειοδώρου	η cχ ^α
	Ἰσχυρίων	πρε(σ)β(ύτερος) Καλλιδώρ(ου)	ιβ
370	Πνεφερῶς	Πτόλλιδος	η
	Πετῆυχος	Νεκφερῶτο(ς)	. cχ ^α
	Ῥορος	Πετοσῖρις	.
	Πάσων	Φήσεως	. cχ ^α
	Λυσίμαχ(ος)	Σαμβᾶτος	η
375	Αἰσχυρίων	Ἡρακλειοδώρου	η
	Πετῆυχος	(ὁμοίως) Πακω()	ις cχ ^α
	Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Ῥρίωνος	.
	Κάλλις	Ἰσχυρίωνος	[]

Col. XIV

	Νεκθνῆφίς	Ψενοβάστεω	δ
380	Παποντῶς	πρεσ[β(ύτερος)] Κυριέως	cχ ^α
	Διογένης	Σμυρίτο()	δ
	Πομπάις	Ὀννώφρεω(ς)	κ cχ ^α
	Ἀνουβίων	Φήσεως	δ cχ ^α
	Ἡρακλείδη(ς)	Σαμβᾶτος ὑφο(ρβός)	κ
385	Ὀννώφρις	Πομσάις	η cχ ^α
	Ἀτρῆς	Πομπάις	cχ ^α
	Θέων	Δικράνου	cχ ^α

	Ἀρφαῖσις	Δικράνου	cX ^α
	Ἡρακλῆς	Δικράνο(υ)	cX ^α
390	Πετεῦχος	Δικράνο(υ)	cX ^α
	Ἀτρῆς	Ψεγοσίρις	ις
	Φᾶσις	Πετοσίρις Λάκ(ωνος)	ιβ
	Ἀπύγχ(ις)	Νεκφερωτο(ς)	δ
	Μαρρῆς	Μελαγκόμο(υ)	η cX ^α
395	Ὀννώφ[ρι]ς	Ἀρψῆμις	ις
	Πετερ[μ]οῦθ(ις)	(ὁμοίως) νεώ(τερος)	κ
	Πετοσίρις	Ἡρακλή(ου) γέρδ(ιος)	ιβ
	Πετερμούθις	Πετεμούνις	ιβ
	Πουῶρις	πρε(σ)β(ύτερος) Ἀτρήους	ιβ cX ^α
400	Πετεῦχος	Παπο[ν]τῶς	η
	[....]ς	Νεκφερωτο(ς)	κδ
	Παποῦς	(ὁμοίως) γέρδ(ιος)	δ
	Ὀννώφρις	Πολλοῦτος	δ
	Ἀρφαῖσις	Ὀννώφρεως	ιβ
405	τξδ		
	δ Νεκθατυμω()	Πετηνή(ιτος)	ιβ
	Ἀρφαῖσις	Πομπάις	δ cX ^α
	Ὀννώφρις	(ὁμοίως) γέρδ(ιος)	ιβ cX ^α
	Ἀρφαῖσις	(ὁμοίως) Παλ(εμούτος)	δ cX ^α
410	Παποῦς [Π...ς]	Πολίωνο(ς) γέρδ(ιος)	δ cX ^α
	Παμιξῆς	Ἀπύγχ(εως)	δ
	Ἀπύγχις	Πεμσάις	δ
	Ἀμμῶνις	Ἡρακλή(ου) Φίλω(νος)	δ cX ^α
	Πνεφερῶς	Πετεύχου Πεκρη()	η
415	Πετεαμούνις	Πετεύχ(ου) Πλαετο()	μ
	Πανετβῦς	(ὁμοίως)	δ cX ^α
	Παποντῶς	Πανετβ(ύιος)	η cX ^α
	Πανετβῦς	Ἑρμίου	δ cX ^α
	Πανρυ...ς	Σισόιτος	ιβ cX ^α
420	Πετεῦχος	Ὀρσενούφρεω(ς)	κ

Col. XV

Πνεφερῶς	Ἀτρήους	δ
....τευς	(ὁμοίως)	δ
Τεῶς	Πανετβ(ύιος)	ιβ
Κευαυς	Ὀρσενούφεω(ς)	η
425 Πετῆϋχος	Πεναῆσις	κ
Νεκφερῶς	Φαν. []	[δ]
Ατ.....ς	Πανομέως	κ
Πανετβϋς	Πεταμούθ(ιος)	δ
οκ		α

blank space of about 8 in.

8. The προσδιδραγόμενα in this document are regularly 5 chalkoi which are not added in the daily totals (see e. g. ll. 129-134). The sign, which is cursive throughout, but rather less so toward the end of the document, seemed at first to read οχ^Λ, and since the α had an unusually prolonged stroke we were inclined to regard it as a new sign for 1/2 chalkous and to read the whole as 5 1/2 chalkoi. After close comparison, however, we feel certain that ^Λ is a mere flourish and that the symbol is therefore the conventional one for the chalkous. See Wilcken in *Hermes* XXII 634, 635.

9. πρεσβύτερος is abbreviated in this document either πρεβ as here (cf. ll. 206, 209, 237, 280, 293, 304, 305, 369, 399) or πρεσβ (cf. ll. 74, 115, 147, 380).

11. Not Παχνοῦβις as in ll. 111, 152.

12. This is the only place in which the writer lists a day's total on the same line with a single entry. There is no indication of carelessness. With Πομπῶς cf. Πομπάις (ll. 27, 332, 336, 407) and Πομπάις (l. 385).

15. The sign for ὁμοίως is represented throughout this papyrus not as — (cf. Wilcken, *Ost.* I 819), but as a rapid horizontal stroke filling the entire space of the column. It is frequently from an inch to an inch and a half long, and when followed by another name is generally joined to the first letter of the name. That it stands for the genitive of the patronymic is proved in this list by comparing ll. 20 and 167, where Ὀρσενούφις Ὀρσενούφεως is interchangeable with Ὀρσενούφιος (ὁμοίως).

17. The second name may be Πολέμων(ος) Κτ[...].

20. See note to l. 167.

38. There is no indication of the name substituted for Ὡρος, which is unmistakably crossed out. Perhaps Αμβη() is nominative. of. ll. 99, 265, but see Ἀμβήσις, 23(a)-34.

44. The numerals have been written one over the other, the 8 apparently coming last.

46. Περσῦχος is a very common name in this register, occurring 21 times. There is but one citation in Preisigke. ε and ο are almost identical in this hand, and the spelling might almost equally well be Περσῦχος. There is no instance in which the reading is unmistakably ε or ο, and we have given the name uniformly Περσῦχος on general considerations.

49. Παντβῦς is the form regularly used in this document. The only exceptions are Παντβεῦς (l. 105) and Παντβῦς (ll. 129, 197, 220).

73. Περσῦνις is possible, of. l. 326.

75. Not the Ἀτιλίων of PSI 3. 230. 11.

77. The genitive of Ἡρακλῆς is so formed without exception in this document. See ll. 92, 122, 210, 213, 335, 343, 344, and of. P. Strass. 9. 4n.

78. Perhaps Τερασθ() or Παερασθ() may be read.

81. Μύσθου: the frequent occurrence of this form verifies the observation in P. Iand. 52. 4n. that the genitive Μυσθαῖος does not occur. The nominative in all the unabbreviated forms is regularly in this document Μύσθας, never Μύσθης (ll. 179, 267, 282, 284, 345). The accentuation Μυσθαῖς in Preisigke's *Namenbuch* either is a misprint or is to indicate a by-form of Μύσθας with the single illustration of Μυσθαῖ in P. Fay. Ost. 7. The dative (e. g. in P. Tsb. II. 401. 31) should of course be Μύσθα.

83. Περερμούθ(ης) of course may be read. Περερμούθ(ος) and Περερμούθ(ων) are less likely. The name occurs nine times and, with the single exception of l. 398 (where the reading is not quite certain), is always abbreviated, as here.

90. Πραξιόν is not certain. There is but the slightest trace of the α and other letters may be supplied in the lacuna.

93. The total is quite illegible; it should be about μδ or μη.

99. 'ΑΙῤθης? of. l. 265.

100. λακω or λακ occurs only in connection with the name Πατοστρίς (ll. 100, 163, 243, 341, 293) or, in the single exception, with a Πνεφερῶς who is mentioned in the previous line as son of a Πατοστρίς (l. 249). Since two of the references are repeated, the word really is applied only to four different persons (ll. 100, 163, 249, 341). For the name Λάκων see 25. verso 5: Νεφερῶς Λάκωνος.

104. Σαμλβᾶς?

113. In the middle of the margin of this line and of l. 115 are strokes which resemble σ and γ respectively. They may be mere trials of the pen and seem to have no significance.

114. The total is correct, omitting the two entries of 5 chalkoi. So also the totals in ll. 135, 182, 239, 250, 253, etc.

115. See note to l. 9.

119, 120. A long blank space, the equivalent of some 10 lines, separates this line from the next following. In l. 120 ς seems preferable to ζ, but is out of the question in view of the fact that the entries for the 6th were already made and totalled (ll. 117-119).

122. The letters might be read Ιεωπτ.(). The payments in this line and the following must be ιβ and λβ to form the total. The figures in the text may of course be reversed.

123. * is written high to indicate abbreviation, but there follows a stroke resembling the usual abbreviation for η. Perhaps Μυκη() should be read.

126, 127. The payments may equally well be 16 for Papontos and 32 for Theon.

133. Evidently 'Ηρακλῆ is carelessly written for 'Ηρακλῆς. There are no women registered in this list, men alone being subject to the συντάξιμον.

136. Περσι or Παρσι is written above 'Αρεώτης as in the text. There is no sign of abbreviation. It cannot be a false start for another name.

142. There has been some error and 'Ισχυρίωνος is re-written above after the mistake has been carefully smudged out. The name is written 'Ισχυρίωνος.

144. 'Απολλῶνις alone of the numerous forms of this name is found in this list; perhaps 'Απολλῶ(νως) should be read here and in l. 269.

147. Πάντες, Πανέες, Παντέες may be read. Παπ[...] is possible.

150. cf. l. 279. Either the slave was sent to make the payment for his master, or was engaged independently (Wilcken, *Ost.* I 637 ff.) and subject to tax.

161. Probably not 'Αλύχης (cf. l. 112). The surface is badly broken and the letters cannot be distinguished.

162. 'Αννο(ῦτος)?

164. See note to l. 232.

167. ἀπάτο(ρος) is hardly to be read, and a name is equally unsatisfactory. It is almost certain that only one Orsenouphis is meant as the father of the three taxpayers. Herwerden's citation of ἄπατος = *pater adoptivus* would suit the sense perfectly but can hardly be suggested.

171. Not Ψενοσίτης.

173. Περσῦς does not seem possible.

177. 'Ατρῆς is almost certainly brother to Θέων and Μύσθας. cf. ll. 28, 29; 177-179; and 303-310. The three payments for each man total 12 drachmas.

187. For the parentheses here and in ll. 200 and 221 see note to l. 223.

197. Not 'Αρφαῆσις. For the patronymic Πανερβῦς is possible.

200. Looks like Περσέρδο(ς).

204. See note to l. 232.

206. Hardly Πακῆς. The lacuna is very small and either λ or ο must be read. Πάκς is perhaps better. περβ is written rather low, so that there is some chance of its belonging to Περσέρδς of the following line.

211. The letters might read Ιμηα.

214. Σμυρ.() is not the same name as that in l. 381.

223. The total as here given is correct if the three entries in parentheses (ll. 187, 200, 221) be omitted. The reason for the omission is doubtful. There are no mistakes of spelling or the like which can account for the parentheses. Probably the payments were made and recorded and were then withdrawn with the clerk's permission, or marked for inclusion in some other account. No similar withdrawals are recorded elsewhere in this record, and it may be significant that all three changes are made in one day.

227. Τιμ.η() is almost certainly wrong but the letters are too cursive to be read accurately.

230. For *sp.* it is barely possible to read *spy* or *σιϛ*. It is to be noticed that, beside this single abbreviation, only *πρεσ(βύτερος)*, *νε(ότερος)* and *δς κ(αί)* are written in the margin.

232, 233, of. 1. 204. We are unable to suggest the resolution of *αθωτο()* and *κσβ()*. The words are better regarded as adjectives than as proper nouns, for there can be little doubt that the men are brothers. It is surely beyond coincidence that two men with the same name and patronymic but with different grandfathers should enter a tax office at the same time to make payment, and on the following day, with a third man of the same name, should make another payment, again apparently coming into the office together. The third brother pays in one instalment practically what the other brothers pay in two. *κσβ* cannot be read *πρεβ* (of. 1. 9n).

234. *Κερᾶ(τος)* is possible.

241. *Ψούς* might possibly be read. See note to 1. 282.

242. *ἡγοῦ(μενος)* could of course be supplied.

245. *ὁμοίως* = *Ἡρακλήου*.

246. Not *Πτολεμαῖς*.

251. Just above the *τς* is written *τ* or *γ*. There seems to be no significance in the figure. The *γ* alone can hardly be a memorandum reference to the next entry on the 23rd, otherwise it might appear that the office did not expect or permit payments from the 16th to the 23rd. *τγ* cannot be read. Whatever the reason, it may be interesting to note that no entries are recorded for the six days intervening, and that the payments immediately before and after this period are conspicuously few.

282. *Πτολεμαίουχ* is written very cursorily. There seem not to be enough strokes for the *τ*. The *χ* is written rather far from the end, suggesting that *Πτολεμάρχου* is meant. In that case, however, *Πτολεμαίου* would have to be read in the line following. The same name occurs in 1. 343, where it is followed by *ψ* (of. 1. 164), and in 1. 241, where *Ψός* or *Ψούς* follows. Perhaps *χ* () should be read separately as the beginning of a new name, but its position above the word preceding regularly indicates abbreviation. It is unlikely that the trades are denoted (*χαλκεύς* and *ψαθοπλόχος*).

285. *Θέων(ος)*?

290. *Πεσιματο(ς)* might be read.

291. For *Πανερβύς* *Πατερμούνης* see 1. 303; for *Πανερβύς* *Πατερμούθιος*, 1. 428.

292. The patronymic seems to be written *Μούσθου*.

295. *Παμνεύς* as in 1. 323?

296. Notice the X in the margin between this column and the next, and cf. note to l. 282. It cannot be a false start for a name.

298. 'Απούνω is spelled 'Αμύννω in ll. 347, 366.

303. The last two letters of Περμοῦνις are written as a cursive stroke resembling the η used in abbreviation.

307. For Προγάνου see l. 22.

314. Κόρυον? cf. l. 32.

316. The reading of this line is very difficult. The surface is badly broken and only slight traces of letters remain.

323. Not Παπεσνεῦς.

324. Not 'Ερμάιτος.

327. Πακοῦς? cf. l. 243.

330. Παποῦς?

346. Θίμοτου is possible. The writing is clear but cursive.

348. See note to l. 282.

349. Excluding doubtful entries, the total is 428. The correct total may be obtained by reading ις, η, and η in ll. 334, 337, and 345 respectively. The letters however are quite doubtful.

356. 'Αρεντοῦτη(ς) sic. cf. ll. 243, 327.

357. The patronymic looks like Πανωρε().

362. τοῦ Διογένου is not a satisfactory reading. The marked letters have unusual forms, especially ο, which is written like δ.

365. Looks like Μωραδατη(ς).

367. Perhaps Πετερψενη() had better be read. The letters are very cursive.

380. In this entry and in those of ll. 386-390 it is noteworthy that only the προσδιαγραφόμενα are paid, making it clear that they are in this instance fixed charges payable once at any time in the year.

418. It is tempting to read Παντβῦις here in view of l. 220, where the reading is unquestionable, but the space does not seem to warrant the insertion, although the broken surface would permit either reading.

22. CENSUS ROLL OF PERSONS DOMICILED IN OTHER VILLAGES

Philadelphia

18 1/4 x 11 in.

Early first century

This is a roster of residents of the village of Philadelphia whose domicile (ἰδιόα) is in other villages. Cf. *P. Lond.* III 904, p. 125 (= Wilcken, *Chrest.* 202). The name of the native village of these men appears only with the first name in each group, it being understood that the ἰδιόα is the same in each succeeding case until the appearance of a man from a different village. Then the new village name appears, applying to the next group, until another change occurs. This seems to be proven in ll. 17-20, where the name of . . . ris of Bacchias is followed by the names of three brothers, who would also be from Bacchias; and in the similar case of Paneitbeous of Tanis (l. 25), whose name is followed by that of his brother Peitesoraipis. The rule that the native village is not mentioned again in a group of successive names from the same village is broken only in one place, ll. 25-29, where we find "Paneitbeous a Tanite; another Peitesoraipis, his brother; Pacheis son of Heracleus; Diogas son of . . . , a Tanite; a Tanite, Gamarus son of Diogas." In three cases of the 125 names in the list we find only ξένος (ll. 30, 128, 129) after the name. The village of actual domicile, for some reason, could not be ascertained in these cases.

Except for the one instance of Sobthis, which lay in the Heracleopolite nome, and for that of the doubtful Kerke, all the villages from which these alien residents at Philadelphia came are in the Arsinoite nome. Five of them, Nestou Epoikion, Tanis, Bacchias, Andrianton and Hephaistias, were in the same division (Heraclides) as Philadelphia. Hermopolis lay in the division of Themistes. The probable position of Kerke is

discussed in the note to l. 33. By far the greatest number of the alien residents, 56 out of the total of 125, were from Nestou Epoikion; the next largest number, 29, from Sobthis. In 28 cases the trade or profession of the man is given. The enumeration of these gives a lively impression of the business life of Philadelphia. They include the following: potter, crusher (stone-crusher?), donkey drivers, flageolet players, bronze worker, embalmers, vegetable dealer, dyer, water guard, bag maker, waterwheel tender, cobbler, brickmaker, butcher, sword bearer (i. e. policeman), priest, shepherd, carpenter and dealer in mustard. One man (l. 13) is stated to be lame, another blind (l. 73). One slave appears (l. 83).

Originally attached to the left of this document was another one of which only a few letters, the ends of lines, appear. They are in a totally different hand and indicate that the document from which they came was an account. As the lower half of col. V of our list was not used and there is no trace of a subsequent column, it is certain that the list is complete.

The hand is a large well formed semi-cursive. Two interesting phonetic peculiarities may be noted: ε is frequently lengthened to ει (Κεῖρᾱς, Σισῶεις, Πατμούεις, υεῖός, Πολεσίμων, Πανεῖτβηοῦς, Ὠρεῖων, εἰερεύς, but cf. μάγιρος = μάγειρος and μηχανάρις = μηχανάριος), and ο to ω (ὠνηλάτης, Ἀφρωδᾱς, Ἀπωλλῶς, μαχαιρωφόρος, Μελανκῶμας, Ἀπωλλονίου sic, Ἀνδρωνίκου, λαχανωπώλης, καταγινωμένου, ὕδρωφύλαξ). That this may be mere carelessness is suggested by the double spelling Σοβθίτης (l. 4, see note) and Σωβθίτης (l. 73). The letters ο and ω are distinctly formed and there is no possibility of confusion. κ and β are written precisely alike, even when as close as in βακχι[ώτ]ης (l. 17). Personal names occurring for the first time are: Ἀχιοῦρις, Ἀνχᾱρις, Ἀρσάκις, Ἀρχεῖς, Ἀρψῦψις, Διωγᾱς, Θεαηποννις (?), Θύων, Κασωτους (?), Κωσκώνιος, Λαχασις, Μαρσεύς, Μαρσίς, Μέλαντος, Νιννις, Παχεῖς, Πέκμιος, Πετθεῦς, Σαρουεῖλλις, Σονθεύς, Σπινός, Φίλκων.

Col. I

- κατ.... ξένου καταγινωμένου
 ἐν τῇ κώμῃ
 "Ε[π]αρχος κεραμεύς
 Σοβρίτης
- 5 Ὀννῶφρις θλαστής
 Ἀ[πο]λλῶς ὠνηλάτης
τῆς υείδος
 Ἡρα..... Νεστωπυκίτης
 Σ[..... α]ύλητής
- 10 Σαμβᾶς ..ετβε..νθός
 Ἡρᾶς αὐλητής
 Π.....ιρεος Ἡρακλήου
 Ἐργεῦς χωλός
 Πετρεαμούνεος χαλκεύς
- 15 Πετρεσοῦχος Ω[
 Σ..εἰκος Τανί[τη]ς
ρις Βακχι[ώτ]ης
 Σισώεις ἀδελφ[ός]
 Πολ...ς ἄλλος ἀδελφός
- 20 Ὀν[νῶφ]ρις ἄλλος ἀδελφός
 Ζω.....ός Ἀκιοῦρεος
 Πειτρεσωραῖπις Πουώριος
 Πεγκμοῦνις Πετεαρμώτ(ου)
 Πουώρεις ἀδελφός
- 25 Πανειτβηοῦς Τανίτης
 Πειτρεσωραῖπις ἄλλος, ἀδελφός
 Παχεῖς Ἡρακλήου
 Διωγᾶς .ν...[.....] Τανίτ(ης)

Col. II

- Τανίτης Γάμαρος Διωγᾶτος
- 30 Αἰλουρᾶς ξένος
 Διωγᾶς Νεστωπυκίτης
 Πανειτβηοῦς Ἡρακλήου
 Ἡρακλᾶς Κερκίτης

- Ὀρτενοῦφισ Νεστωπυκίτης
 35 Ἀνχᾶφισ Ἀνδριαντίτης
 Πετθεῦς Ε...τος
 Εἰσχυρᾶς Μελανκώμου
 Π.....ακλειτος
 Ἀτρῆς ταριχευτής
 40 Νίννις υειός
 Ἀτρῆς Α.....ς
 Πνεφερῶς Μαρτέος
 Ὠρείων υειός
 Ἀτρῆς λαψάνης
 45 Ἡρᾶς Κωσκωνίου
 Ἀρσάκισ Νεστωπυκίτης
 Ὀννῶφρις Θωτορταίου
 Ἡρακλῆς Τανίτης
 Κα.ω υειός
 50 Ἑρμωπωλίτης ἀνὴρ ταριχ(ευτής?)
 Πέκμιος λαχανωπώλ(ης)
 Θεαηποννις ἀδελφός
 Πτ...λας Τανίτης
 Π[α]ποντῶς Κάλλιτος
 55 Κάλλις υειός
 Παποντῶς ἀδελφός

Col. III

- Πανειτβηοῦς Ἀμῶτος
 Παποντῶς Νεστωπυκίτ(ης)
 Σονθεῦς Ἀρψῦφισ
 60 Ἀρψῦφισ υειός
 Ἀκοῦς ἄλλος υειός
 Πνεφερῶς ἄλλος υειός
 Ὠρος ἄλλος υειός
 θύων Ε.ε..χ..
 65 Πασίων Εἰρηνίωνος
 Πτῶλλις Ὀρτενούφιος
 ποιμ(ήν) μετὰ Πανομγέος

- ποιμ(ήν) μετὰ Πτώλλιδος
Σαμβαθίωνος
- 70 Ἐκτωρ (ὁμοίως)
Ἐκτωρ (ὁμοίως) υεῖός
Σαμβᾶς Λαχασίς
Σωθίτης τυφλός
Εἰσχυρᾶς Ἀνδρωνίχου
- 75 Μελανκώμας ἀδελφός
Ἡρακλῆς ἄλλος ἀδελφός
Ἀμμῶνι[ς] Πετάλου
Στράτιππος βαφεύς
Ρεπεντῖνος ὠνηλάτης
- 80 Ἀπολλῶς ὑδρωφύλαξ
Πετεσοῦχος Φίλωνος
Εἰσίων [ἄ]δελφός
Πετεσοῦχος δοῦλ(ος) Ἀπωλλονίου
Δῖος Δημωφώντος
- 85 Ἡρακλῆς υεῖός

Col. IV

- Φᾶσις Ἡρακλή[ο]υ
Ἡρᾶς Κειρᾶτος
Κειρᾶς Ἡρακλήου
Πετεμοῦνις Παποντῶτ(ος)
- 90 Πανεσνεῦς Κασωτούς
Ὀρσ[ε]νοῦφις υεῖός
σακκωπλώ[κο]ς
Πετεαμοῦνις Πετεῦτος
Πετεαμοῦνις Πα..
- 95 Πετεχῶν Πετεαμούνεος
Βησᾶς (ὁμοίως)
Φίλων Ἀρφαήσι[ο]ς
Σισῶεις Ὀννώφριος
Ἡρακλῆς Νεστωπυκίτ(ης)
- 100 Μαρίων ὠν[η]λάτης
Πατμούεις θυ[....]

- Σισώεις υεῖός
 Τεβουλᾶς ὠνηλάτης
 Ἡρακλείδης ὠνηλάτης
 105 Δημήτρις Τρύφωνος
 Ἀτρῆς Μελάντου
 Ἡρακλῆς Ἀμβῆσις
 Ἀπελλῆς υεῖός
 Νεμεσᾶς μηχανάρις
 110 [Π]έτεσοῦχ(ος) παρὰ Καπίου
 Μύσθας Δίου
 Σαμβαθίων ἀδελφός
 Δράκων ὠνηλάτης
 Πωλείμων ἡπητής

Col. V

- 115 Δύκος πλινθευτής
 Πανκράτης ὠνηλάτ(ης)
 Ἀρχεῖς θλαστής
 Ἀφρωδᾶς μάγιρος
 Χαιρήμων μαχαιρωφόρος
 120 Σαρουεῖλλις Ἐργέ[ο]ς
 Παποντῶς Μύσθου
 Ἐργεῦς (ὁμοίως)
 Ἡρακλείδης Μαρσῖτος
 Νεμεσᾶς Σεραπᾶτος
 125 Ὀρός Νεκφερωτ(ος) εἰσερεύς
 Σπινός Ἐργέος ποιμὴν
 Πετθεῦς Ἀρυάτ(ου) τέκτων
 Ἀπολλῶς ξένος
 Ἀπολλῶς (ὁμοίως) ξένος
 130 Ὀρος Ἡφαιστιώτης

1. κατ' ἄνδρα ξένου καταγινομένου naturally suggests itself, in the sense of "individuals of the alien resident list in the village." The few traces which remain do not seem however to warrant the reading ἄνδρα.

καταγινόμενου ἐν: see *P. Hamb.* 19. 4n, and *PSI VII 8* (137 A. D.), where a freedman speaks of his legal representative as being ἀπὸ Μέρφεως τῆς μητροπόλεως τοῦ [Μεμ]φίτου νομοῦ καταγινόμενου [ἐ]ν τῇ αὐτῇ Νικίῳ.

4. Σοβθίτης: for Σόβθις, which lay in the Heracleopolite nome, see *P. Hib.* p. 8, *P. Teb.* II 301, and *P. Oxy.* 1145. 19. In l. 73 the word is spelled Σωβθίτης (cf. *P. Hib.* p. 8).

8. In *P. Goodsp.* 30 III 4 the word appears as Νεστοποι-
κεί(η); in 30 XXXVII 22 as Νεστοποικήτη.

13. χωλός: cf. *P. Lond.* II 189. 78 (p. 157) where in a second century list of persons we also find a man designated as lame. cf. the man designated as blind in 22. 73. In *BGU* 344. 25 χω[λό]ς should be read. In *P. Teb.* I 120. 5 and note the reading Χώλου, as indicated by the editors, seems preferable.

14. The reason for the genitive is obscure. It is probably mere carelessness. cf. l. 12 and *BGU* 630 III 9.

23. Περικρῶνις is possible.

28. Διωγᾶς is apparently father of the Γάμαρος in the next line.

33. Κερκίτης: six of the eight villages mentioned in this list are known to be in the Arsinoite nome. Only Sobthis lay outside of it. Wessely in his *Topographie des Faijum* (Denksch. Wiener Akad. L (1904) 93) had located an ἐποίκιον Κερκε in the Arsinoite, but this was omitted by Grenfell and Hunt (*P. Teb.* II App. p. 416) from their list of Arsinoite towns as insufficiently attested. On the basis of this Κερκίτης we feel that Wessely's ἐποίκιον Κερκε is to be accepted, particularly as in one of his examples the name of the village of Tanis appears in the same list with ἐποί() Κερκ... .

35. For Ἀνδριάντων see *P. Teb.* II p. 367.

38. Probably Ἡρακληεῖτος.

39. For Ἀτρής here and in l. 41 Ἀτίης should perhaps be read.

44. We are uncertain as to whether Λαψάνης should be regarded as a trade name (from Λαψάνη) or a patronymic.

52. Θεατιποννις is possible.

70. For (ὁμοίως) see 21. 15n.

90. Κασωνις may be read.

94. Παῶς?

97. Φιλίμων is barely possible.

101. Θύωνος? cf. l. 64.

110. παρά, "assistant to," see *Dikaionmata* 99.

125. εἰρεσῦς: see Mayser, *Grammatik* 90 note 2.

126. The οἰ of ποιμήν has been run together and looks like ρ.

23. REGISTER FOR TAX OR CENSUS PURPOSES

Philadelphia

7 1/2 x 7 1/8 in.

Early first century

The following fragment consists of two separate documents which have been carelessly fastened together, although they are of entirely different content. The hand of fragment (b), which is attached to fragment (a) upon the left side, is smaller than that of (a). Fragment (a) in its complete form contained the names of 88 men who were weavers by trade (l. 38). Fourteen of these names are preserved in complete form in col. II, others in badly shattered condition in col. I. If completely filled with entries, col. II would hold 24 names. Assuming that its length is normal, we may estimate that there have been lost two columns of the beginning of the document and five or six columns of the end.

In ll. 2-4, 6, 8, 31 we find an abbreviation το() which we cannot resolve as το(ῦ), because τοῦ is written out in full in other lines where the need for economizing space is quite as great. We therefore resolve it as τό(που) and regard Καλλ..(), Δεμβηλ(), Παρισκ(), Τανουκ(), Περαιουν, Θις(), which are all preceded by το(), as the local names for the districts in which particular weavers lived. l. 31 we translate as follows: "Harphaesis, son of Harphaesis, of the district Thie . . . , donkey driver," calling attention to BGU II 640, ὁ μὲν Παβοῦς ἐν τόπῳ θιελκαῖς. It is clear from P. RyI. 333 that in the second century such τόποι were to be found about Philadelphia. We are also inclined to regard the peculiar forms Τλεμοργο() Κουιῶ() Σονταμγο() Νεκληκ() Κελθιδ() Ταμαλεγο() as place names, though we have slight proof to offer for this assumption.

The abbreviations μη(), κω() and απε() which precede the individual names in coll. II and III are also difficult to explain. It is to be observed that they do not occur

before the names of the weavers in col. II. Preisigke in his commentary upon *P. Fay.* 153 (*Archiv* IV 95 ff.) regarded the κω() in that bank list of payments as being a technical reference to some part of the accounting system. For the present we offer the same explanation as plausible in the case of our abbreviations. In our list they are in a different hand from that of the register itself and must have been written in later. απε() would, by this suggestion, be expanded as ἀπε(ληλυθόντων) and would indicate that the name had been checked to form a list (like that in *P. Teb.* I 121, 125-132) of those who had died within the year. The abbreviation μη() might be for μηνιαίου, a monthly register; and κω() might stand for a list in the office of the κωμογραμματεῖς. But these are mere suggestions, which cannot at present be adequately supported.

In fragment (b) the amount of the payments (44 dr. where these are recorded) indicates that the document to which it belonged was a list of receipts of the tax called συντάξιμον, cf. 21 intro.

(a)

Col. I

].σεβ.....
]θ() τό(που) Καλλ..()
]ας τό(που) Δεμβηλ()
]τό(που) Παρισκ()
 5]ις Μασῖρις
]τό(που) Τανουπ()
]ος
]τό(που) Περαιουν
]λαμης
 10]τριβων
 Πε]τεσουύχ(ου) Ἀρμάιτ(ος)

No traces for the equivalent of about 4 lines, then one or two letters at the ends of each of ll. 12-24

Col. II

- 25 Μύσθ(ας) 'Ατρίους sic Γλεμοργο()
 'Αρφαῆσις 'Οννώφριον sic
 'Εσοῦρις 'Εκτορος 'Εκτορο(ς) Κουιῶ()
 Ψάμις 'Απύνχιο(ς) τοῦ Σονταμγο()
 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Πετεσοῦχ(ου) Νεκληχ()
 30 Πετεσοῦχ(ος) Πανετβη(οὔτος) τοῦ Κελθιδ()
 'Αρφαῆσις 'Αρφαῆσεως τό(που) θιε() ὄνηλ(άτου)
 'Ιάσων Σαμβ(ᾶτος) Ταμαλεγο()
 'Αρφαῆσις 'Ηρακλήου τοῦ ὕφορβ(οῦ)
 'Ηρακλῆς 'Αμβήσεως τοῦ Αμφ.()
 35 Ψονσνεοῦς Κολλοῦθ(ου) ἀπὸ ξέν[ης
 Παχῖρις Πανετβη(οὔτος) υἱο(ῦ) (αὐτοῦ?) !. [
 'Αρχωνίδ(ης) ἀδελφὸ(ς) (αὐτοῦ?) !. [
 (γίνονται) γέρδ(ιοι) πη
 καὶ οἱ λοιπ(οὶ) ἄγδ(ρες) ρε

- 40 ὦν τὸ κ(ατ' ἄνδρα)
 μη() 'Ηρακλῆς 'Ηρώδου 55 απε() 'Ατρῆ[ς
 μη() Πτόλλις Πετσίριως sic κω() Αρα.[
 μη() Παμμένις Σαμβᾶτος κω() Αρμ[
 μη() 'Ισχυρίων Πυλάδου] Δαμα[
 45 μη() 'Ισχυρίων Πτολεμέου sic] 'Εργεμο[ῦνις
 μη() Χράτης Πετεσοῦχ(ου) 60] Ζω.[
 απε() Ψενατῦμις Πνεφερῶ(τος)] 'Ηρᾶς[
] 'Ηρα[
 κω() 'Ηρακ[λῆς?
 κω() 'Ηρακ[λῆς?

Col. III

- [] Δῖτος[
 απε() Πνε[φερῶς?
 50 κω() Που[ῶρις?
 κω() Πετ[
 κω() Ναν[
 κω() Παχ[
 κω() Πετ[
 65 κω() Θηβε[
 κω() 'Ισχῖς[
 Μύσθ[ας
 απε() Νε[φερ(ῶς) [
 κω() Ν[εκ]φ[ε]ρ[ῶς
 70 'Αρφαῆ(σις?) Π.... [
 κω() Πα... [
 απε() /....κ[

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written on aged, stained paper and is organized into several lines. The script is dense and difficult to decipher, but appears to be a form of early modern or medieval handwriting. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written on aged, stained paper and is organized into several lines. The script is dense and difficult to decipher, but appears to be a form of early modern or medieval handwriting. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript. The text is written on aged, stained paper and is organized into several lines. The script is dense and difficult to decipher, but appears to be a form of early modern or medieval handwriting.

(b)

broken

		]'Απόλλωνος[ς	
		]'Ηρακλή(υ)	μδ
	]εφος	Πετεύχ(ου)	μδ
	]	'Απόλλω(νος)	μδ
5	]ρος	'Απόλλω(νος)	μδ
	]ων	'Απόλλω(νος)	μ[
		]'Απόλλω(νος)	μ[
		] Μύ[σθ]ο(υ)	[
		]'Αρφακί(ς) [
10		..]δ....[
		'Α]τρήους	μ[
	]ων	Μαρήους	μ[
	'Ηρα?]κλής	Δίου	μ[
	]ρ..η()	'Ακάμο(ντος?)	μ[
15	]ο()	[.]νφίλου	[

traces of 3 more lines

26. Beginning with this line and continuing at frequent intervals as indicated in the text, there occurs a long diagonal checking stroke which extends well under the first name in the line and resembles occasionally a paragraphus. The latter half of the column is checked by a second hand, writing before each entry μη() preceded by a small stroke. This is carelessly done, the check and comment being out of alignment with the name. In col. III the long stroke is again used in checking, but at greater intervals. l. 67 alone is without marginal annotation or check.

29. Wessely cites the Coptic place name Nekalak from a Fayûm papyrus, in *Denkschr. Wiener Akad.* L (1904) 110.

36, 37. The sign which we read doubtfully as αὐτοῦ resembles somewhat the numeral 2. In both cases it is followed by an ι and very slight traces of another letter; "Ια[σο(νος) is possible. The 2 resembles the beginning of the Ψ of l. 35, and, if the lower stroke were not so extended, υἱο(ῦ) Ψο[νονεο(ῦτος) might be read.

55-69. The names in these lines are arranged in alphabetical order.

24. LIST OF NAMES OF DELINQUENT TAXPAYERS

Philadelphia

10 1/2 x 11 in.

56 A. D.

The collector of the poll tax in Philadelphia has drawn up a list of 44 names of those in his village who had not, up to the month Epiph of the second year of Nero (i. e. up to June 25, 56 A. D.) paid the poll and dike taxes for the first year (54-55 A. D.). The list was made out probably in the summer of 56. The names are those of men classed as ἄποροι ἀνεύπετοι, "unproductive persons (from the viewpoint of the state revenues) who could not be found," or, in more technical modern phraseology, "untraceable tax delinquents." The amounts posted against the 44 names are the same throughout, namely, the total sum of the annual poll tax (λαογραφία), amounting here to 45 drachmas 2 obols, and the dike tax of 3 drachmas 4 obols. The latter tax remained fixed at that amount for the first century and a half of the Christian era, falling upon those persons who were subject to it in the same way as the poll tax (see Wilcken, *Ost*, 333 ff.). The payment of the poll tax (λαογραφία) and the dike tax (χωματικόν) to the same official has already been attested by the ostraka receipts (ibid. 237). The present document shows that the office of the collector of the poll tax in Philadelphia in Nero's time also took care of the dike tax. Furthermore, it suggests the interesting possibility that those who were subject to the poll tax were also subject to the dike tax, since this is the condition in each of the 44 cases here listed.

The document is a welcome addition to our information upon the ἄποροι. This list of taxpayers who had disappeared without paying the poll and dike taxes to which they were subject was compiled from the tax books ten months after the tax became due. In *P. Lond.* III 911, p. 127 (149 A. D.), we have a certificate attesting that the holder was listed among

the "unproductive" (ἄποροι). There were therefore two kinds of ἄποροι with whom we must deal. The first class was composed of prospective taxpayers who had run away or disappeared, the ἄποροι ἀνεύρετοι of our document. The second class consisted of those ἄποροι who were certificated as unable to meet the tax claims, and who were then placed in the list of the ἄποροι (cf. ἔστι δὲ ἐν ἀπόροις, *P. Lond.* III, p. 127).

Depending upon the nature of these "unproductive" tax subjects is the question of the well authenticated tax called the ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων (also μερισμὸς ἀπόρων) which has appeared in *P. Fay.* 58, 54, 256; *BGU* III 881; *P. Teb.* II 544, 545; *P. RyI.* 366; possibly also *P. Lond.* III 844, p. 55. All these documents are of the second century. Wilcken (*Ost.* I 161) had suggested the possibility that the ἄποροι were the "poor" who were unable to pay taxes, and that the ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων was a poor-rate destined for their relief. Against this belief Grenfell and Hunt (quoted by Wilcken in *Archiv* IV 545) advanced the view that the ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων meant "an extra levy to make up deficiencies caused by the inability of ἄποροι to pay taxes." Wilcken, *ibid.*, then suggested that the ἄποροι, as opposed to the εὐποροι, were those whose resources did not suffice to warrant the government in calling upon them for the undertaking of those liturgies in the conduct of which some fixed property evaluation was a requisite. Our document seems to settle the matter on the basis of the Grenfell-Hunt explanation. From this list the distribution of the levy for the unpaid taxes (ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων) could readily be calculated, on the basis of the total population subject to the same taxes; and this proportional levy was evidently assigned against these tax subjects and made up by them in the taxes of the third year of Nero.

This question should not be confused with that of the lands called ἀπόρων ἀνομάτων (*P. Oxy.* XIV 1743 and *P. Gen.* 36), which are thus far attested only for the Byzantine period.

The following names in the list do not appear in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*: Παιναῦς (l. 30), gen. θβιτός (34), gen. θύονος (37), Πετοῦχος (40), gen. Ἄροπος (43), Πόμης (43), and Προτίων (49).

Col. I

παρ[ά .]μελλαίωνος λογευτοῦ λαογραφί(ας)
 Φιλαδελφείας. ὠφίλεται εἰς Ἐπίφ τοῦ
 β (ἔτους) Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστ(οῦ)
 Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος πρώτου (ἔτους)
 5 ἀπόρων ἀνευρέτων.

Ἡρακλῆς	Πούρεως (δρ.) με (διώβολον) χω(μα- τικόν) (δρ.) ς (τετράβολον)
Ἦρος	Ηνε[φ]ερῶτο(ς) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ὀν[νῶ]φ[ρι]ς	Ηνε[φ]ερῶτο(ς) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Φᾶσις	Ἀτρήους (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
10 Φᾶσις	υἱός (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Πετεοῦχ(ος)	Ἰσχεῖτο(ς) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Σαμβ(ᾶς) ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἰσχεῖς	Ἰσχεῖτο(ς) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Φᾶσις	Φάσειτο(ς) ἄλλο(υ) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Φᾶσις	Φάσειτο(ς) υἱο(υ) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
15 Πολυφάντη(ς)	Πολυφάντ(ου) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἦρος	Ἀπολλω() (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Πετερμῶτη(ς)	Πεσήρεως (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἀρφαῆσις	Ἀρφαῆσιο(ς) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Πυλάδη(ς)	Ἡρακλή(ου) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
20 Πεμές	Ἡρακλή(ου) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Παγκράτη(ς)	Ἀρυάτου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Πεβῶς	Ἡρακλήου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	Πεβῶτος (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἡρακλῆ(ς)	ἄλλος Πεβῶ(τος) (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F

Col. II

25 Κάλλις	Ἀρφαῆσεως (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Κάλλις ἕτερο(ς)	Ἀρφαῆσεως (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἀρφαῆσις	Μύσθου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Ἡρακλῆς	Πετεοῦχου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
Τεῶς	Ἦρου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F
30 Πειναῦς	Ἦρου (δρ.) με = χω. (δρ.) ς F

Σαμβ(ᾱς)	ᾠρου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Παχνοῦβ(ις)	Πεσήρεως	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Ἀπύγχις	ᾠρου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
ᾠρος	Θβιτός	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
35 Πετεμο(ῶνις?)	Ἀκουσιλάου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πετεοῦχ(ος)	Πετεούχου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Ζωίλος	Θύωνος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Ἀτρῆς	Κεφάλωνος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πεῆρις	Πτόλλιδος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
40 Πετοῦχ(ος)	Πανούβ(ιος)	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πραξίας	Ἀρφαήσεως	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Ἡρακλῆς	Ἡρακλήου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Σαμβ(ᾱς)	Ἀροπος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
ᾠρίων	ᾠρίωνος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
45 Σαταβοῦς	ᾠρίωνος	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πτόλλις	Δίου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Δῖος	Δίου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πόμης	Πομήου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF
Πρωτίων	Πραξίου	(δρ.) με=	χω. (δρ.)	CF

22. The first name may here be Πεκῶς, but Περῶτος (l. 23) and ἄλλος Περῶτος (l. 24) have determined the reading.

34. Θβιτός: cf. the feminine name Θβοῦς cited by Preisigke as soon to appear in Viereck's publication of Strassburg Papyri.

37. The name Θύωνος is known (see Preisigke s. v.), but not the form Θύων. The nominative occurs in 22. 64.

40. Cannot be read Πετοῦχ(ος) as in l. 36.

49. This name with the spelling Πρωτίων is of frequent occurrence; but ω cannot be read here in the first syllable.

25. ACCOUNT OF FARM LABOR

Probably Fayûm

8 1/8 x 6 in.

28-23 B. C.

Private account of the expenditures of a man named Lucius for labor of men and animals on a farm in certain days of the months Phaophi and Athyr. Owing to the bad state of preservation many of the details, especially on the recto, are not clear. The hand of both recto and verso is the same. To the right of the recto account are very fragmentary remains, in a different hand, of a previous document apparently also a farm account. Of the number of the year (recto l. 1) only a single stroke is left. This may be read equally well as part of γ, ε, ς or ζ.

The document offers valuable information upon the wages paid for farm labor in Egypt shortly after the formation of the Roman province. Adult farm labor used on the dikes (recto l. 3) or at breaking up clods (verso ll. 5, 9) received three obols per day, as compared with the four and five obol wage for the same types of labor at the close of the first century, cf. Segre, *Circ. Mon.* 126, 127. The rate for ox teams with a herdsman varies, probably according to the known working capacity of the teams which are offered for hire. In verso l. 4 the total paid for 7 teams is 9 dr. 4 ob., or at the average rate of about 1 dr. 2 ob. per team. In ll. 7, 8 six yoke of oxen receive 11 dr., which is at the rate of 1 dr. 5 ob. per day. In l. 12, for 5 teams the payment is 8 dr., the average rate being about 2 dr. 3 ob. per team.

Our document falls in the season of the preparation of the soil for planting and of the planting itself. On Athyr 8th we have a man hoeing (recto l. 13), with which of. the use of the hoe for grubbing out rushes on Athyr 13 in Schnebel,

Lond. 110. No dates appear upon the verso, which is a continuation of the account on the recto. The farm activities which appear there are those carried on in *P. Lond.* I 131 (p. 170 ff.) in the last weeks of Phaophi and from that time until late in Athyr. In the process of eled breaking (βολο-
κονεῖν), which was done with the hoe, the seed was covered over with earth (Sohnebel, 135).

Recto

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| ἔτους γ' Καίσαρος Φαῶφι | |
| λό(γος) ἡρακλῶσις Λουκίου | |
| χωματίζοντες ἐργ(άται) γ | (δρ.) α (τριώβολον) |
| Σοβε.... | (δρ.) β |
| 5 .ε.....τη | (όβολός) |
| Ἄρπας Ἄρπᾶτος | (δρ.) ρ |
| Φαῶφι ε' Ἐρίπτου εἰς ὄξον | |
| .σνοχον | (δρ.) ιη |
| ὁμοίως Ἄθῦρ ἡ Χρήστου | |
| 10 εἰς οἰκονομῶν | (δρ.) ις |
| τω.υχ...ονημάτων | (δρ.) γ |
| παρὰ Σπ..... | (πεντώβολον) |
| εἰς .αφ....υ. τοῦ σκαφητοῦ | (δρ.) . |
| Ἄθῦρ κῆ [.....]. ε Χρησ- | |
| 15 ατου....[|](δρ.) γ (τριώβ.?) |
| τ...[.]αλετη | (δρ.) . |
| Ἄθῦρ κθ | |
| Ἀκουῖτι | (δρ.) δ |
| κατασ[παίροντες?] ἐργ(άται) | (δρ.) μβ καὶ ταυρικοῦ |
| 20 ζεύ(γους) παρὰ Α..... ν.υ.πο εζωντες | (δρ.) β |
| Επισ...του...τ.... | (δρ.) κβ (τετρώβολον) |
| ..... | (δρ.) α (τετρώβ.) |

Verso

-]βος ὤρου ..κ...[10 letters]ελλου-
 ρων ς Κραου ἀρ(ῶντος?)
 ζευ(ῶν) [ταυ]ρικῶν ζ ὤρωι (διωβέλιον) Ἰσχυρίωνο(ς) βουκόλο(υ)
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) θ (τετρώβ.) (δρ.) δ
 5 βωλοκοποῦντες ἐργ(άται) ζ Νεφερῶς Λάκωνος
 ἀν(ά) (τριώβ.) (δρ.) γ (τριώβ.) ταυρικῶν (δρ.) δ
 καὶ βίκωνο(ς) ζευ(ῶν) ταυ-
 ρικῶν ς (δρ.) ια
 βωλοκοποῦντες ἐργ(άται) ς (δρ.) γ
 10 καλληλακανίας κόπτοντες ἐργ(άται) β (δρ.) α
 ..]...κῶν ἀρ[ο]υρῶν (δρ.) .
 βο]ικῶν ζευ(ῶν) ε (δρ.) η
 βωλοκοποῦντες ἐργ(άται)
 καὶ παιδάλια β
 15 (γίνεται) τὸ πᾶν (δρ.) μδ
 Χρήστου (δρ.) ς
 ὁμοίως εἰς υχοθονες
 κρ.εις κρόκης (δρ.) .
 ..ρ...πῶν.αιφ..φυλας (δρ.) ις
 20 .ρυ.ο.περ.α.. ἐργ(άται?) .
ον..σν.πολ() υποδ.η...ος (δρ.) α (διώβ.)
 ..δ (δρ.) ς

Recto

2. σαπλωσις: we are unable to suggest the correct reading. ἀνήλωσις is barely possible.

3. χωματίζοντες: the labor on the dikes, like that of breaking up clods (verso ll. 5, 13), clearing the ground (verso l. 10), and digging (recto l. 13), is usually carried on in the months Payni-Mesore, but some dike work was also necessary in Phaophi (Oertel, *Liturgie* 70), at which time the inundation was subsiding and preparations were being made for the sowing. of. verso l. 9.

Verso

14. Read παιδάτια.

26. OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES

Probably Fayûm

5 1/2 × 3 1/2 in.

Second century

An account of the expenditures made by some official on the 30th day of a month the name of which is not given. The entry in l. 9 (cf. *BGU* 362. frag. I 21, IV 20, VIII 15, XII 15) is the usual one made on the last day of the month to record the expense of sending the monthly accounts from some local bureau to Alexandria. In *BGU* 362 the records in each case were taken down to Alexandria by the ἐπιτηρητής (overseer of the record office); in the present document they are taken by a centurion. Together with these monthly records it was customary to send the "rolls" (βιβλία, l. 8, cf. *Archiv* IV 127). The paper (χάρτης) of l. 5 was for the contracts with the ten tanners, who were hired presumably for work in the imperial arms factories (cf. Reil, *Beiträge* 133).

The entire right side of the papyrus is missing. The writing is across the fibres in a large, careful hand. ll. 13-20 are in a slightly different hand or were written at a different time. The writing here is smaller and more cursive. On the recto is a second century land register.

λ

λόγος ἀναλ(ωμάτων) ὑπὸ Καπέσιτος
Γεμείνου φυλακ(ιστοῦ) ὑπὲρ ἀποδη(μίας) [
προσθεραις ὑ(πὲρ) ἀποδη(μίας)
5 τειμῆς χάρτ(ου) εἰς τὴν [μίσθω-
σιν τῶν ι βυρσέων[
ἐφοδίου στρατιώτου[
αιτων τὰ βιβλία ε[
τῷ (ἐκατοντάρχη) ὑπὲρ τῆς μηνι[αίου καταπομπῆς (δρ.) ιβ?
10 εἰς τὸν λόγον τῆς στατου[
[[Πετνῦτος]] Πωλίων[ος

τῆς [Δ]ιογυσᾶδος [
 τει(μῆς) χιτό(νων) β- εἰς το[
 Μωρίωνι λαογρ(άφῃ) μα[
 15 προθ() ὑ(πὲρ) μη[
 Διονυ[...]. ὑ(πὲρ) μη[
 τῶ..[...]. υπολ() υ(πὲρ) [
 τῶ[.....]. ὑ(πὲρ) μη[
 τῶι [....] ὑπὲρ αν[
 20]πισ[

broken

5. χάρτου: or χαρτῶν, of. *P. Teb.* I 112. 61, 62, τιμῆς χαρτῶν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶν διαγεγραμμένων τῶι χαρτοποιῶι. See also *P. Oxy.* VI 895. 12, 13.

13. χιτόνων: the stroke following β is apparently without significance, of. *BGU* 1028. 9.

15. προθ(εσμίας)? of. *P. Strass.* Inv. 31 and 32 recto l. 12 (*Archiv* IV 123).

16. Διονυσᾶδι?

27. FRAGMENT OF A LIST OF DONKEYS

Second century

]όν[
 ὄ]νος $\bar{\alpha}$
]όνος $\bar{\alpha}$
]όνος $\bar{\alpha}$
 5](κυρ. ἀρτ.) κ σ /
 διακλη() ὄνοι $\bar{\beta}$
]όνος $\bar{\beta}$
 ὄν]ος $\bar{\alpha}$
 ὄνος] $\bar{\alpha}$

28. ACCOUNT

2 5/8 x 3 in.

Second century

A rapidly written cursive account, the exact nature of which is uncertain owing to the omission of abbreviations explanatory of the numbers. There is some similarity to BGU 470, and since ll. 5, 6 cannot refer to money payments it is most probable that the figures indicate payments of artabae. The arithmetic is quite elusive. Omitting l. 6, which was a subsequent addition possibly by a second hand, the total in l. 7 is approximately correct (41 instead of 41 1/2). If the entry in l. 6 be included the fraction will be removed but the total incorrect. If (ζγ) (ἥμισυ) could be read in this line the total would be correct, but γ is clear. For the figure 36 in l. 8 we are able to offer no explanation. It seems impossible to connect it in any way with the preceding entries, and it does not seem, from its position, to be the number of a docket. Although the papyrus has been broken on all four sides, margins of sufficient size remain to suggest that the document is complete. The writing is parallel to the fibres.

Ἰναρῶ(ς)	Θυνό(φριος)	α
Παήσιο(ς)	Κμηθιο(ς)	α
Παήσιο(ς)	Βήσιο(ς) αργο()	α
Στέφανο(ς)	Νεφερῶ(τος)	θ
5 και ὁ(πέρ) ἀλ(λων) ὁμ(οίως) κθ (ἥμισυ)		
2nd h. Στέφανο(ς) Κερᾶτ(ος)	γ (ἥμισυ)	
(γίνονται) μα		
λς		

29. LIST OF ARTICLES

7 5/8 x 4 3/4 in.

Second century?

Four lines of a memorandum written in a large, inelegant hand at the top of the recto. The rest of the papyrus including the verso is unused. Except for the loss of some letters in a lacuna at the left, the piece is complete. As usual in lists of this sort, several of the words are of rare occurrence, and the lacuna makes the identification of three of these difficult.

σπολικὸν τῆς Νόννας
[..]βακατία β
σκ.ελικτρον ἐρεφάντινον
[...].ειν ἐλεφάντινον α

2. Evidently [σα]βακάτια for σαβακάθια. See Hesychius κεκρύφαλες: σαβακάθιον δεσμότηχον, and cf. σάβανον, "a linen cloth."

3. The reading σκενκτρον is possible but doubtful. σκευέλικτρον cannot be read.

ἐρεφάντινον: read ἐλεφάντινον, as in l. 4. The two spellings in such proximity are interesting, unless the former be merely a mistake.

30. ACCOUNTS

5 1/8 x 4 in. Second or third century

Two accounts or lists of uncertain nature. The first is a column of figures headed by the name Καπαῖς, followed by a paragraphus. The figures, with the exception of the first, are arranged in a descending series of the odd numbers from 1 to 19. There follow two signs which resemble somewhat εἰ() (δρ.) but which are probably mere flourishes. The whole has the appearance of a writing exercise.

The second document, written in a different hand, claims to be an account of wool, but is probably also an exercise or memorandum. In the last three lines the writer seems to be experimenting with the spelling of the first word. The reading μετρηταί in l. 1 seems certain, though inexplicable. The sign is clearly formed; it cannot be (ἔτους).

(a)	(b)
Καπαῖς	(μετρηταί) ε. λόγος πόκων δ[
α	ηρτες αλαχι[
ιθ	ηρτες ἱμάτια υ[
ιζ	ηρτες λώδικα [
ιε	
ιγ	
ια	
θ	
ζ	
ε	
γ	
α	
εἰ() (δρ.?)	

4. For λώδικ, "woven blanket or coverlet" (= Lat. *lodix*) see Reil, *Beiträge* 118.

31. ACCOUNT OF GRAIN AND HAY

4 3/4 x 3 3/4 in.

Third century

- ἀρτάβ]η .[..
τος ἀρτάβ]η[
 ἀρτ]άβη
 ..[.] ἀρτ]άβη
 5. Ὀρίωνος
 λόγος σιταρίου. Ὀρίων
 Παρίωνος ἀρτάβη
 Πεμπώτης ἀρτάβη
 Ἀφοῦς ἀρτάβη
 10. Ταύρεις ἀρτάβη
 λόγος χόρτου
 Βρηοῦς λυπαραχμας
 Ἀπολλῶς λυπαραχμας
 Ἀτῆνος λυπαραχμας
 15. Πεμπᾶς λυπαραχμας
 Ἀφοῦς λυπαραχμας

32. PRIVATE ACCOUNT

5 1/2 x 2 3/8 in.

Third century

A fully preserved account of various sums expressed in talents and drachmas. The mention of the names in ll. 2, 3 and the general nature of the entries suggest that it was a sort of personal inventory of money paid or loaned by Epaphroditus and Pausippus and perhaps (l. 16) others. The writer has made two errors in addition, one in l. 5, where the correct total is 2 tal. 3356 dr. instead of 2 tal. 3352 dr., and the other in l. 18, where the total of the figures as given should read 2246 instead of 2244 dr. As a consequence the grand total is 3 drachmas in error and should read 3 tal. 2250 dr. instead of 3 tal. 2244 dr.

ἐταβ		5322 (dr.)
Ἐπαφρόδιτος		Epaphroditus
δρν		4159
ἐωπδ		5884
5 (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) β ἕτηνβ		2 tal. 3352 (dr.)
Παύσιππος		Pausippus
β ἄλλο	σιβ	2212
ἄλλο	ἀ	1000
ἄλλο	ρνβ	152
10 ἄλλο	ρξ	160
ἄλλο	τμη	348
(γίνονται) ἕωοβ		3872 (dr.)
σὺν ταῖς ἐπά- νω		
15 (γίνεται) (τάλαντα) γ ἄσκδ		3 tal. 1224 (dr.)
ἄλλα	ἀκβ	1022 (dr.)
[(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) γ βσμγ]		
(γίνεται) (τάλαντα) γ βσμδ		3 tal. 2244 (dr.)

33. INVENTORY OF PROPERTY

6 5/8 x 2 3/4 in.

Third century

Portion of an interesting list of personal property. The papyrus is broken at the top and on the left side, but seems otherwise to be complete. There remain on the left traces of a preceding column, in the form of dashes similar to those which in the part extant follow the numerals, and also the end of a line:]v τδ-. The hand is a rapid but clear semi-cursive with carefully formed letters. The verso is not used. The list is an inventory of property, which, judging from the use of εὑρεθέντα in l. 13, was made as a preliminary to the settlement of the estate of the deceased owner. That this person was a comfortably situated sea captain, trader or ship owner seems a reasonable inference from the character of the entries. The rather remarkable congeries in ll. 1-5 would seem, if not a mere coincidence, to point to the traveling interests of the deceased, or of the person compiling the list. Upon this there follow six articles grouped together as silverware, with a paragraphus at the end of l. 7 separating them from the preceding. In order to avoid any misunderstanding of the quality of the last of these articles, the pepper dish, a second person has added the information that this too is of silver. This second hand has also added what seems to be a proper name in the genitive (l. 22). The document, however, was folded before these letters had dried, and there is consequently a blur which makes reading difficult. If we may infer from this fact that the list ends with l. 21, then the last line may well be the name of the late owner added by a scribe as a memorandum.

On the verso are three fragmentary lines of an uncertain document.

broken

σαν[ν]δ(άλια) βατιστικά
 β-
 ἵππας καὶ κα-
 λαντίων ὄνος
 5 ἰστός α-
 τετραερμ(αῖ) β-
 ἀργύρων
 στάμνος α-
 σπονδῖον α-
 10 ὀξόβαφα δ-
 δίσκος α-
 κύαθοι β-
 μυστροθήκη α-
 ἐξηρτισμένη
 15 ἀργυρίου πίπερας α-
 ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
 ζ-
 εὐρεθέντα ἐν τῷ
 καταγίῳ
 20 ναύλου πλοίου
 ξ- ββ-
 Ἀρπιτεσησίου

2 walking shoes, a mare and an . . . ass, 1 mast, 2
 tetraherns. Of silver: 1 urn, 1 libation cup, 4 saucers,
 1 plate, 2 cups, 1 spoon holder, completely fitted out, 1
 pepper dish (marginal note: of silver), 6 silver talents
 discovered in the cellar . . .

1. Read βαδιστικά.

3, 4. καλαντίων: we do not find this word elsewhere. The reading is clear, although ω here as in l. 7 is peculiarly formed, resembling somewhat σα.

5. From the general context it seems more likely that ἰστός refers to a ship's mast than to a fabric as in *P. Hib.* 67, 68. cf. 45.

8. If στάμνος is here used in its ordinary sense as a large jar or urn (*v. P. Hamb.* 10. 35n.) the fact that it is included among the silver pieces would make it a pretentious article.

9. Read σπονδεῖον.

10. Read ὀξύβαφα.

13. This seems to be the first specific mention of a spoon holder. cf. *P. Oxy.* VI 921. 24, 25, καὶ ἐν τῷ πυργίσκῳ μύστρα.

15. πίπερας occurs also in *P. Oxy.* 921. 26. The context here shows it to be more than a by-form of πέπερις. We find no other mention of a pepper dish, but there seems to be no doubt that such an article is meant.

19. Read καταγείφ.

20, 21. This entry offers a number of difficulties. The first letter of l. 20 is composed of a π and a ν, one of which is superimposed upon the other. It is difficult to determine which was last written and consequently whether the revised reading is ναύλου or Παύλου. The figures in l. 21 we are unable to explain. The reading is perfectly clear, except that the second β, which is partly destroyed by a lacuna, may possibly be κ. In the margin there is a sign which may be read variously as ε(), ει() or (γίνεται), and which seems to belong to the previous column. If, however, it be read as (γίνεται), then ξ- may be the total indicated, and ββ- alone, meaning talents or some commodity, may refer to l. 20.

34. ACCOUNT OF BARLEY AND WHEAT

5 3/8 x 2 1/8 in.

Third century

Although the amounts listed in the following account are small, being with the exception of l. 5 either of one or of two artabae, there is evidence of considerable auditing in the fact that entries are carefully checked at the end and perhaps also at the beginning of each line and that five entries have been scratched out and altered by a second hand. The document is broken at the top and bottom and a few letters are lost at the left. Beginning with l. 2 the writing slopes decidedly to the left, and consequently more letters are lost with each successive entry. On the verso is a list of names. The ends of the lines are lost and the purpose of the list is therefore unknown. Two of the names are new: 'Ιππέων and Αδωρα[. Among the rest are Ταῖσις, 'Αδέλφι[ος], Θέων, Ἀρτεμις, Ἀντώνιος, and Παλλάδιος.

broken

].αλοι() ερειων γυνηκολιβ() κρι(θῆς) .
]'Ηρακλήου ὑπηρετοῦ κρι(θῆς) [[α] β[
]ουερ 'Αλεξάνδρα κρι(θῆς) [[β] α[
]ωνος Α..ικάριος πυρο(ῦ) α/
 5]Κάρπου Διβικοῦ κρι(θῆς) σ/
].. Απ..υας κρι(θῆς) α/
].αιον 'Αλεξάνδρα κρι(θῆς) [[β] α/
]γ.ουραζαρια κρι(θῆς) β
]δρα πύρο(ῦ) α/
 10].αυνης πυρο(ῦ) α/
]κος πυρο(ῦ) α/

Parts of 12 more lines, 9 recording
 payments of barley, 3 of wheat

35. ACCOUNT OF FOOD

4 x 3 1/4 in.

Third century

An account of expenditures for articles all of which are connected with the kitchen. The reading is difficult owing to the fact that it was written over a previous document (a fragmentary third century land register). The letters of the present document were in places superimposed without erasure upon those of the earlier hand. In addition, the surface of ll. 7-13 is badly preserved. Most of the items fall under the 26th of an unnamed month, but near the end entries are made for the 29th. The general appearance of the handwriting, a coarse cursive, and the fact that it is a careless palimpsest suggest that it is a rough memorandum of a cook or steward.

On the verso is a fragment of an account of uncertain nature. We are able to give little more than the actual letters, which are written across the fibres in a rough semi-cursive hand. ¹το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ὥστ(ε) Σερήνῃ τῇ [²γί(νεται?) λη ^{2nd h.?} ξη (δρ.) ὀκδ.[³]τογα[.]ε εἰς [σ]υμ() (δρ.) ὀτα[⁴]αχειρος (δρ.) α (πεντάβολον) (αὐτοῦ?) καὶ διὰ ζῶ[⁵]υμ ⁶]ποιῶ[.]τ() εἰς συμ() (δρ.) ὀτα[⁷(χειριστῇ) α[.] διὰ Χρώμου διὰ[⁸]ς ξυμῶν ⁹]ς σείτου τβ [¹⁰]εατε[.] Τααρψ..[¹¹]πειτι()

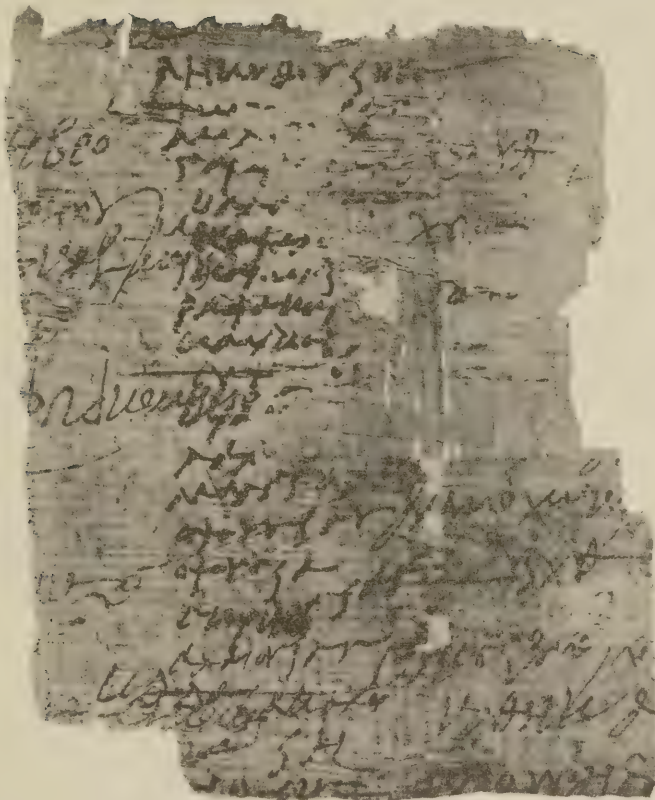
Recto

	κς		
	ληκύθου	(δρ.) β	(τετρώβολον)
	ψω(μίων)	(δρ.) α	(τριώβολον)
	μαλο(βάθρου?)	..	
5	γαρεί(ου)	(δρ.) ς	
	βαλά(νων)	(άρτάβη)	
	καφείω(ν)	.	
	καφ(είων) όμοί(ως)	(δρ.) [
	ράφακαι [
10	κα.λκει() [
	σελ(ίνου) [
	κρέως [
	λελε() [
	μέλιτ(ος)	(δρ.) β	(διωβέλιον)
15	όψους	(δρ.) γ	(τετρώβ.)
	όψους	(δρ.) α	
	σιλφικας	(δρ.) ε	(τετρώβ.)
	έλαίου	(δρ.) α	(τριώβ.)
	κθ δα()	(δρ.) β	καχοι
20	.ε()	(δρ.) η	
	...	(δρ.) β	(διωβ.)

broken

Recto. On the 26th: an oil-flask, 2 dr. 4 ob.; delicacies, 1 dr. 3 ob.; aromatic leaves(?) . . . ; fish sauce, 6 dr.; an artaba of acorns; . . . (r); item, . . . dr.; radishes(?) . . . ; . . . ; parsley(?), . . . ; meat(?), . . . ; honey, 2 dr. 2 ob.; relish, 3 dr. 4 ob.; relish, 1 dr.; . . . , 5 dr. 4 ob.; oil, 1 dr. 3 ob.

On the 29th: . . .



4. The usual form is *μαλάβαθρον*. See BGU 953. 2. Less probably *μάλο(ν)* is to be read for *μήλο(ν)*, "apple."

5. Read *γαρίου*.

6. There is no record of the amount paid. The reading (*ἀπράβη*) is clear, (*ὀβολός*) is impossible.

9. We do not find any other use of this form. It is presumably to be connected with *ῥαφή*, a radish.

10. The surface of the papyrus is unbroken here but we are unable to read the letters. *καυλῶν* is impossible.

11. The *σελίον* of P. Oxy. III 520. 13 is not impossible, but the reading may perhaps be *σελῶ()* or *σελῆ (=σελάχους?)*.

17. We are unable to explain this item, if indeed it be correctly read. The letters might equally well be *σπρχαλ()*.

19. The writing here is confusedly intermingled with that of the former hand and the reading is quite doubtful. There is no question, however, about *κθ*, which is placed in the margin in the same relative position as *κς* above.

36. ACCOUNT OF OXYRHYNCHITE VILLAGES

Oxyrhynchus

2 1/2 x 3 in.

Third century

Fragment of an official account of payments from villages of the Middle Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Compare the similar lists of villages with payments, *P. Oxy.* X 1285 and XIV 1359. The list was made out at the request of a *curator civitatis* (λογιστής), cf. *P. Leipz.* 40 II 8. There is no indication of the nature of the payments or of the period which they cover. In *P. Oxy.* 1359 the crown tax for the entire Oxyrhynchite nome was 12 talents 2890 drachmas 4 1/2 obols for five days only in the month Athyr. The twelve talents from Kerkeuron and the five talents from Peënnō are therefore not surprisingly high.

ἐπιζητοῦ(ντες)	Προ[....]υ λογιστο(ῦ) [
K]ερκεῦρων	(τάλαντα) ιβ [
Σ]εντώ	(τάλ.) α [
Θ]ώλθεως	(τάλ.) β μν[
5 Π]εεννώ	(τάλ.) ε μ[
τ]ὸ 'Ηρακλεῖον	(τάλ.) . μν[
..]...του	(τάλ.) [

4-5. μν[: presumably μναῖ is to be supplied. cf. *P. Lond.* III p. 236.

37. FRAGMENTS OF GRAIN ACCOUNT

5 3/4 x 3 3/4 in.

Third century

Though these two fragments cannot be fitted together they certainly belong to the same account. The hand in each is the same cramped cursive, spreading out in the numerals to larger and more elaborate letters. It is impossible to determine how much has been lost or even to state whether the pieces are from the same column. If the amount in l. 17, which we read as 808, is a total, a considerable part of the account is lost, as the extant entries add up only to 197 1/3 artabae. Nothing is lost at the top of fragment (a), or apparently at the bottom of fragment (b).

(a)

	]ως	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)	κε
	]ιος γραματέως	(ὁμοίως)	ε
	]στραδελφου	(ὁμοίως)	ιθ γ)
	]νος Κοδλακίου Ὁρῖς	(ὁμοίως)	ε
5	]ης Στεφάνου	(ὁμοίως)	γ ς)
	]ων βουλευτουτής	(ὁμοίως)	ς ιθ
	]ος Παήσιο[ς]	(ὁμοίως)	η γ)
	]Παήσιος	(ὁμοίως)	ις β)
		] (ὁμοίως)	δ σ
10	]οσ[

(b)

	]ου	(ὁμοίως)	ζ σ
	]Ὁρίωνος	(ὁμοίως)	ς β)
	]αῖος	(ὁμοίως)	κγ γ)

	]	χως	(ὁμοίως)	ζ	σ
15	]	δόλεως	(ὁμοίως)	κ	
	]	ιας	(ὁμοίως)	μ	
	]		(ὁμοίως)	ωη	
	]	λη			
	]	λλου			

2. Read γραμματέως. The sign which we have resolved here and in the following lines as ὁμοίως could equally well be resolved as (ἀρτάβαι) except in this line, where it is followed by the stroke which we read as ως. We assume that the scribe intended by this to indicate the change from his sign for πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι in l. 1 to (ὁμοίως) in the following lines.

3. The entry in this line is for 19 $\frac{1}{3}$ artabae, the symbol for the fraction in this hand being a parenthesis-like elongation of the normal stroke or accent above the letters. The signs for $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{12}$ are sufficiently distinctive to prevent confusion and are accordingly not followed by the stroke.

4. Κοδλεκίου does not occur elsewhere. Ὀρῆς may be a double name of the person for whom the entry is made. Κοδλεκίου Ὀρῆς is possible but hardly likely.

6. Read βουλευτής.


9. The sign for $\frac{1}{4}$ shows its origin clearly in this hand. It is an unmistakable δ made in two strokes, the upper of which is prolonged upward and to the right.

18. We are compelled to read λη here, even though ση readily suggests itself as a total. The items in the text add up to 197 $\frac{1}{3}$.

38. LIST OF NAMES

7 1/4 x 3 1/4 in.

Third century

Part of a column of names the purpose of which is not stated. All of the items except those crossed out have been checked in the left margin by a long stroke with a peculiar flourish at the top resembling somewhat a σ, thus:  The piece is broken at the right and bottom and one line is lost at the top. There do not seem to have been any numerals at the end of the lines, therefore the document cannot be an account. There is a blank space after l. 11, and the rest of the entries are made in a somewhat larger and perhaps different hand. Αραχας, Δροντ(), Πανεκώτης and Μόις do not occur elsewhere.

broken

Πτ[ο]λαιμαῖος Δροντ()
 Δι[ο]νύσιος Πο[.].ετος
 Πατᾶς Κοπρέ[ου]ς
 Π[έτρος Χωῦτος]
 5 Π[έτ]ρος Χωῦτος
 Ἑρμείας Ἑρμοῦ
 Π[αυσί]ρεις Αραχας]
 Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀτρήτος
 Πανεκώτης Ἀμμωνος
 10 Σευήρος Σώτου
 Μόις Ἑρμογένους

blank space of about 3 lines

2nd h. ...]φυλα..()
 ...]νας Σαραπίωνος
 ἀρχεφ(όδου?)

fragments of 2 lines

39. PRIVATE ACCOUNT

10 x 5 in. Third or fourth century

The following account is complete except for the loss of the ends of lines. The lower half of the papyrus is left blank. Written parallel to the fibres in a large, careful cursive.

λό[γος] ἀναλόματος κριθ[ῆς]
 Ὀν[ησ]ίμψ εἰς τροφὰς τῶν β [
 καὶ μούλον ἡμερ[ῆσιον?
 ἀπὸ κθ Φαρμοῦθι Αἰᾶσει χ[
 5 ὁμοίως Πρεῖμα καθερχομέν[η
 μετὰ τοῦ τετραπόλου [
 κτῆσι τοῦ γεούχου ἐπὶ δια[
 τῷ δικαιοδότη [
 οἴνου τῷ αὐτῷ [
 10 Μεσορῇ β τοῦ γεούχου ἐπὶ δι[
 Φ..μαιθῶν ἀπερχόμενος[
 πρὸς τεμοι.[

1. Read ἀναλώματος.
2. β seems to be a numeral as no letter immediately follows.
4. Αἰᾶσις is new.
5. Read κατερχομέν[η.
11. Φαρμαίθων?

40. RECEIPT IN A SALE OF LAND

Theadelphia

6 1/8 x 3 5/8 in.

105 A. D.

The document lacks a number of lines at the bottom and has lost about 15 letters at the ends of the lines throughout. The difficulty of reading it is increased by the numerous small holes which mar the surface of the preserved portion.

It is a receipt made out by a woman named Athenarion, acting with her guardian, a cousin whose name is lost (l. 6), to a certain Philip for payment of a large sum of money which we read (l. 21) as 3500 drachmas. Because of the large sum involved and the appearance of κλήρου (l. 13) we conclude that the transaction dealt with the sale of a rather large plot of agricultural land.

- .δ̄ ἔτους ἐνάτου Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Νέρουα
Τραιαν]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαν[ικοῦ Δακικοῦ μηνὸς
Σεβαστοῦ τριακάδι ἐν θεαδελ[φίαι τῆς θεμίστου μερίδος
τοῦ] Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ. ὁμ[ολογεῖ Ἀθηνάριον
5 ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα δ[ύο μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
ἐαυτῆς κατὰ πατέρα ἀνεψιοῦ .[about 13 letters
ὡς] ἐτῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν οὐ[λὴ Φιλίππῳ
.....] τοῖς συνόντι αὐτῇ ..[about 16 letters
ὡς] ἐτῶν τριάκοντα τριῶν οὐ[λὴ about 14 letters
10 μηδὲν τὴν Ἀθηνάριον μηδὲν καλεῖν
μηδὲν καλέσιν τῷ Φιλίππῳ[ι about 15 letters
.πῶαι ἐπεγράφη α..π...[
ἐαυ[τ]ῆς ὑπάρχοντα κλήρου σ[
ὁμοπατρίου καὶ ὁμομητρίου ἀδ[ελφοῦ
15 ὀφείλειν τοῖς Ἡρώδῃ καὶ Ἡρώνι [

'Αθη]νάριον τῷ ἐτέρῳ αὐτῆς ὁμοπ[ατρίῳ καὶ ὁμομητρίῳ ἀδ-
 ελφ]ῷ Λεονίδῃ ὁμοίως μετὰ κυ[ρίου
 ...]εἰπ. γελοῦ καὶ δραχμῶ(ν) τ[
 ...]ο τὴν 'Αθηνάριον μόνην εἰ[
 20]...μωκαί..... ἀργυρίῳ[υ
 ...]τρεῖσχειλίας πεντακοσίας μετ[
]εἰσενας ἢ σὺν καφηκ.....[
 'Αθη]νάριον πρεσβυτέραν .[
 ~]ἀτρυψίου Φιλίπ[που
 25 καλεῖν] μηδὲν κ[αλ]έσι[ν
].ρ..[

broken

6. The name of the cousin, in the genitive, followed ἀνεψιοῦ.

11. Read καλέσειν, also in l. 25.

22. This line seems to have been left out originally and added by the same hand later. It is crowded into the space between ll. 21-23.

41. RECEIPT FOR FARM RENT PAID BY TRANSFER OF BANK DEPOSIT

Dionysias

3 1/2 x 2 1/2 in.

151 A. D.

A woman named Tasis, a resident of Dionysias, which was located in the division of Themistes at the western end of Lake Moeris, had rented a farm plot belonging to her to one Anoubas who lived in the village of Philoteris. The latter village lay some miles to the southeast of Dionysias along the road leading into the Fayûm from the Small Oasis (*P. Teb.* II pp. 375, 408, and map). In the month Epiph, sometime between July 14 and 24, Anoubas paid the rent on this plot. Since the receipt was made out by the village bank of Palamedes, the rent must have been paid by the lessee to the bank. Whether both the peasant Anoubas and the lessor Tasis had deposits at this bank, and the rent was paid by a mere transfer of the necessary amount upon the bank's books from one account to the other, or whether the lessee Anoubas brought the actual money and deposited it to the account of Tasis, does not appear from the receipt. The amount paid by Anoubas is lost at the end of the document. The form of the receipt has a customary characteristic of the statements of deposit-transfers made out by the Egyptian banks (διαγραφὰί τραπεζῆς), namely that the usual greeting (χαίρειν) is lacking (ll. 10-12), and that the fact of the transfer is put in the accusative-infinitive construction without the governing verb (ll. 13-15, cf. Mitteis, *Grundzüge* 68, *P. Lond.* III 907, p. 170, and *P. Strass.* 19 intro.). BGU 70 (=Mitteis, *Ohrest.* 175) is an example of such a transfer statement (διαγραφή), and happens to be from the same bank.

This bank, of Palamedes son of Onnophris, is now known to have been conducting business in Dionysias during the twenty years from 131 A. D. to the end of 151 A. D. See *BGU* I 70 (131 A. D.); *P. Lond.* III 907 p. 169 (134 A. D.); *BGU* II 468 (150 A. D.). It is called "the bank of Palamedes son of Onnophris" in the documents of 131 and 134 A. D. In those of 150 and 151 A. D. the bank is that of "Palamedes and partners." In 134 A. D. (*P. Lond.* III 907 p. 170) the village of Dionysias supported another bank, that of "Chaeremon and partners," in addition to that of Palamedes.

- ἔτους πεντεκαίδεκάτου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Τίτου Αἰ[λίου] Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντων(είνου)
 Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἐπειφ κ[.]
 5 ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαμῆδους καὶ με[τό]χ(ων)
 τραπεζῆς Διονυσιάδος. Ἀνουβᾶ[ς]
 Σώτου ἀπὸ κώμης Φιλωτερί[δος].
 γεωργῶ Τασῖτι ἀπάτορος μη-
 τρ[ός] Τᾶ[...]: ἀπὸ κ[ώ]μης Δ[ιο-
 10 νυσιάδος (ἐτῶν) μ οὐλῇ με[ε]τ[ώ]πῳ με-
 τὰ κυρίου Ἡρώου τοῦ Λυκάτο[ς]
 (ἐτῶν) λε οὐλῇ ἀντικνημῖφ ἀριστερῶ.
 ἀπέχιν τὴν Τασῖν παρὰ τοῦ
 Ἀνουβᾶ τὰ ἐκφόρι[α] τοῦ ἐνε-
 15 σ]τῶτος πεντεκαίδεκά[το]υ [ἔτους

broken

Year 15 of Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Epiph . . ., from the bank of Palamedes and partners at Dionysias. Anoubas son of Sotas, from the village of Philoteris, to the farmer Tasis, fatherless, her mother being . . ., from the village of Dionysias, aged 40, scar on her forehead, with (her) legal representative, Heron son of Lycas, aged 35, scar on the left shin. (We certify that) Tasis has in full from Anoubas the rents of the present fifteenth year . . .

4. The beginning of the customary horizontal stroke above the date appears somewhat to the right of κ , indicating that another letter followed.

8. The woman Tasis is called $\gamma\omega\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, not $\gamma\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$, implying that she had other land which she farmed directly.

Read $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\pi\iota$, agreeing with $\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\tau\iota$. The genitive is a mistake evidently occasioned by the following $\mu\eta\tau\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$.

9. The beginning letters of the matronymic may be Π instead of $\tau\acute{\alpha}$. $\tau\acute{\alpha}[\sigma\iota\tau\omicron]\varsigma$ fits the space and may be correct.

42. TAX RECEIPT

Socnopaei Nesus

3 × 4 in.

172 A. D.

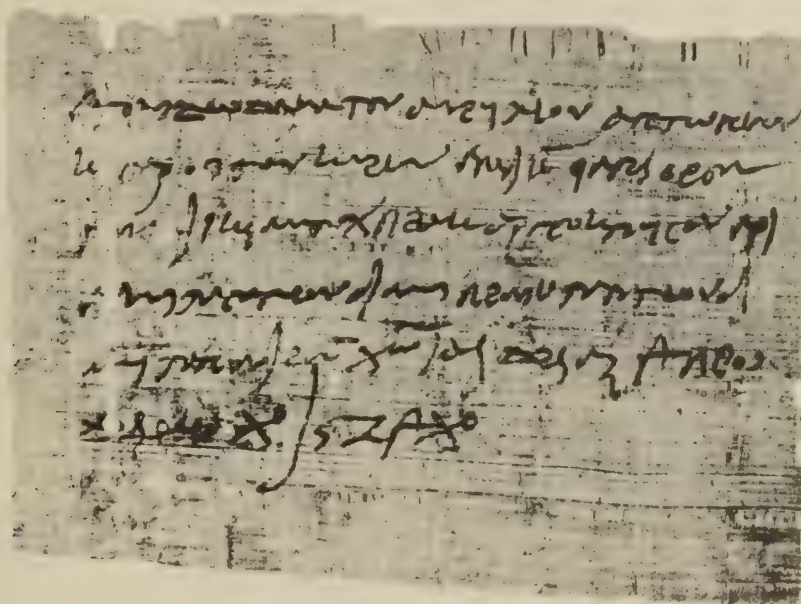
Receipt made out in the 12th year of Marcus Aurelius by the collectors of money taxes of Socnopaei Nesus for payment of the dike tax of the 11th year. Closely similar in form to this receipt is BGU I 359 which is also from the bureau of the collectors of money taxes at Socnopaei Nesus. The dike tax is the fixed sum of 6 drachmas 4 obols exacted from all taxpaying subjects in Egypt under Roman rule. It remained constant through the first two centuries of the Empire at least, as appears from this document and from an unpublished list in the Cornell collection (Inv. No. I 13 verso = 21 verso, see p. 156) where payments of 13 drachmas 2 obols are recorded for 32-34 A. D. The προσδιαγραφόμενα (supplementary payments) in the receipts of the second century are often the same as in this document, namely 1 drachma 2 chalkoi (cf. *P. Leipz.* 72, of 134 A. D.; *BGU* 391. 3, of 154 A. D.; *P. Lond.* III 844. 9, p. 55, of 174 A. D.; *BGU* I 359, of 180 A. D.), but this rate is not constant, even in the second century. For detailed discussion of the dike tax and supplementary payments see *P. Basel* 10 intro.

ἔτους δωδεκάτου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Ἐπιφ. β. διέγρ(αψεν) Ὀρσε-
 νοῦφι καὶ μετόχ(οις) πράκ(τορσι) ἀργ(υρικῶν) Σοκ(νοπαίου)
 Νήσου Ἐρι-
 εῦς Τεσενούφως πρεσβυ(τέρου) Τεσενούφ(εως)
 5 μη(τρὸς) Τανέφρεω(ς) χω(ματικὸν) ια (ἔτους) δρα(χμᾶς) ἑξ
 (τετρώβολον), προσ(διαγραφομένων)
 δρα(χμῆς) μιᾶ(ς) (χαλκῶν δύο), (γίνονται) (δρ.) ζ (τετρώβ.)
 (χαλκοῖ δύο).

Year 12 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar our lord, Epiph
and. Herieus son of Tesenouphis, son of Tesenouphis senior,
his mother being Tanephris, has paid to Orsenouphis and
partners, collectors of the money taxes of Socnopaei Nesus,
as dike tax of the 11th year, 6 drachmas 4 obols, 1 drachma
2 chalkoi being added as supplementary taxes: total, 7 drachmas,
4 obols, 2 chalkoi.

3-5. In a dike tax receipt of the 24th year of Severus
(216 A. D.) also from Socnopaei Nesus (P. Gen. 40), the
taxpayer is a certain Τεσνοῦφις whose father and grandfather
are named Τεσνοῦφις and his mother Τανέφ, which the editor
regards as an abbreviation from Τανεφρέμις. Because of the
marked similarity of names in the two receipts we judge that
these people are of the same family in successive generations.
We suggest, therefore, that the mother's name in P. Gen. 40
is Τανέφρις rather than Τανεφρέμις.

6. The sign for 2 chalkoi is χ° as in BGU I 359.



43. STATEMENT BY SITOLOGI OF GRAIN RECEIVED

Philadelphia

3 3/4 x 2 3/4 in.

196 A. D. ?

This statement is addressed to the strategus of the Heracleid division of the Arsinoite nome by the sitologi of Philadelphia, who call attention to the fact that a certain quantity of barley (amount lost) had been paid into the public granary at Philadelphia to the account of one Marcus Valerius. The names of the peasants who paid the barley must have appeared in the lost portion of the statement. Most of the extant granary receipts of sitologi are made out in the month Payni (June) rather than in the harvest month, which is but rarely represented (see Preisigke, *Griechen* 64). Because of the unusual date of the payment and the locution μεμετρήμεθα . . . Παχὼν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος [ος ε] ἔτους τὰ λήμματα δ (ἔτους) it seems to us that this payment must have been made to the account of Valerius early in the harvest season of the fifth year (of Severus), as rent or taxes due to the government in the previous or fourth year.

A Harpocraton, presumably the same man, is already known as strategus of the Heracleid division holding office some time in the period of Commodus (*P. Amh.* 97. 1 and *BGU* II 660. 1; cf. Paulus, *Prosop.* no. 164). Since the years of Commodus are dated from the accession of his father Marcus Aurelius (Hohmann, *Chron.* 34), the "4th year" (l. 9) cannot be assigned to the principate of Commodus but must be that of Septimius Severus. This new date, if our identification of Harpocraton is correct, places him as strategus of the Heracleid division in 196 A. D., as well as some six or more years earlier under Commodus.

- Ἄρποκρατίωνι στρ(ατηγῶ)
 Ἄρσι(νοῖτου) Ἡρακ(λείδου) μερίδος
 παρὰ Δείου Διδύμου κα[ὶ
 Κρονίων(ος) Διογένους καὶ τῶ[ν
 5 λοιπῶν σιτολόγων κώμ[ης
 Φιλαδελ(φίας). μεμετρήμεθ[α
 τῇ ἡ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς
 Παχῶν τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε
 ἔτους τὰ λήμμα(τα) δ (ἔτους) κ(ριθῆς) (άρτ.) [
 10 εἰς Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον .[
]ν.....[

broken

To Harpocraton, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, Heracleid division, from Dios son of Didymus, and Cronion son of Diogenes, and the remaining sitologi of the village of Philadelphia. We have had measured out to us, on the 8th of the present month Pachon of the current fifth year, as receipts of the fourth year . . . artabas of barley to the account of Marcus Valerius . . .

4. Κρονίων(ος): there is no abbreviation sign used at the end of the name. In Διογένους the ν, with no final upward stroke, is combined with the following ο.

8, 9. ἐνεστῶτος ε] ἔτους: the usual formula almost always gives the number of the year. We have therefore inserted ε. See Preisigke, *Griechen* 64.

9. τὰ λήμματα = τὸ γένημα. See P. Fay. 86. 1, Preisigke, *Griechen* 67, and Thunell, *Sitologenpapyri* 100.

10. The final stroke of ν of Οὐαλέριον is carried below the line, curving to the left. In view of the omission of the final stroke of ν in Διογένους (l. 4, see note) it is possible that Οὐαλέριον Ἰλ[should be the reading.

44. RECEIPT FOR FARM RENT PAID IN KIND

Hephaestias

8 3/4 x 4 1/4 in.

209 A. D.

The receipt is dated Mesore 2nd of the 17th year of Severus, Caracalla and Geta (July 23, 209 A. D.). The hand is a bold cursive written parallel with the fibres.

- Οὐαλερία Φλα[ο]υία Ἰσιδώρ[α
ἡ καὶ Καρίτη διὰ Δημητρίου
Σαβεῖνφ χαίρειν.
ἐμετρήθην παρά σου ὑπὲρ (τοῦ)
5 κλήρου Κελλτερίωνος λεγομ(ένου)
περὶ κόμην Ἐφαιστιᾶδ(ος)
κυροῦ ἀρτάβας τεσσαράκοντα
(κυρ. ἀρτ.) μ μέτρῳ κροσμε(τρουμένφ) τίλλης.
(ἔτους) ιζ// Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου
10 Εὐσεβοῦς Περτίναχος καὶ Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Ἀντ[ω]ν[υ]λείνου Εὐσεβοῦς
Σεβαστῶν καὶ Που[β]λίου Σεπτιμίου
Γέτα Σεβαστοῦ Μεσορῇ β̄.

Valeria Flavia Isidora also called Carite, through Demetrius, to Sabinus greeting. I have had measured out from you on account of the allotment called Cellterion, near the village of Hephaestias, forty artabae of wheat, wheat 40 art., and a measure of fenugreek as extra charge.

Year 17 of Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti and Publius Septimius Geta Augustus, Mesore 2nd.

2. The letter read as ρ in Καρίτη is unlike ρ elsewhere in the document, except in Μάρκου (l. 10), where also it follows α. The stem of the ρ below the line in these two places swings with a rounded base to the right and upward.

4. The sign which we here read as (τοῦ) is otherwise unknown to us. It resembles somewhat the customary sign for (ἔτους), except that the upright stroke is a curved line.

8. τίλλης: apparently for τήλης, cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* 256, where the genitive τῆς τίλλης is quoted from an Hesychius gloss. On the planting of fenugreek in Hellenistic Egypt see Schnebel, *Landw.* 195 ff.

45. RECEIPT FOR RENT OF A SHIP'S MAST

Oxyrhynchus

6 3/4 x 4 3/8 in.

298 A. D.

The mast with which this document deals had been rented for a full year, from April 10th, 297 A. D., to April 9th, 298 A. D., and at the end of that period was returned to its owners Aurelia Sarapammon and her nephew Theodorus. The rent, which had evidently been agreed upon in the contract for the loan of the mast, was paid about a month later, on Pachon 7th (May 2nd), and the transaction was closed by the following acknowledgment of receipt. The husband of Sarapammon acted throughout the transaction as legal agent for his wife. Sarapammon, however, was present when the receipt was made out and signed for her husband and nephew, because they could not write. This occasions some confusion of the personal pronouns and verbs in the document.

The owner of the mast, Aurelius Hieracion, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, and member of the senate of Oxyrhynchus, is already known from *P. Oxy.* VIII 1104. As prytanis in office in the year 306 A. D. he sent in a request to the logistes for public funds to meet expenditures upon the public baths. In l. 4 of that document ὁ καὶ Νονίνοϛ should read ὁ καὶ Διογύσιος as here.

broken

about 21 letters].υτοϛ Σεβαστῶν
 Αὐρηλία Σαραπάμμων]ου μη(τρὸς) Ταπαυσίριος
].σκατωτο.[. κα]ὶ ὁ ἀδελφίδο[υ]ς Θεόδωρος Ῥωμαίου
]μωνος
 διὰ Αὐρηλίου Παυσίρι[ος] Σαραπίωνος μη(τρὸς) Σοήριος

- 5]υῖησ[.....]. Αὐρηλίῳ Ἰερακίῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντι) πρ[υτανεύ]σαντι βου[λ]ευτῇ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμπ(ροτάτης)
- Ὁ ξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ[εω]ς χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπεσχηκέναι παρὰ σου τὸν [φ]όρο[ν] οὗ εἶχες μου ἱστοῦ πλοίου διὰ τοῦ χρόνου [...] εἰς Φαρμουῖθι ἕως εἰς Φαρμουῖ-
- 10 θι τοῦ ἐν]εστῶτος εἰς (ἔτους) καὶ εἰς (ἔτους) καὶ ζ (ἔτους) πλήρη, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν ἱστὸν παρει]ληφάναι [τ]ε παρὰ σου ὑγιῇ καὶ μηδὲν σοι ἐνκαλεῖν μηδὲ ἐνκαλέσιν περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς τὸ συν-άλλαγμα.] κυρία ἢ ἀπο[χ]ῇ καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα. εἰς (ἔτους)] καὶ εἰς (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
- 15 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ζ (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιαν[ο]ῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καίσαρων Παχῶν ζ-. ^{2nd h.} Αὐρηλίοι Θεόδωρος Ῥωμαίου καὶ Παυσ(ίρις).
- Αὐρηλία Σαραπάμμων δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Παυσί-
- 20 ριος] ἀπέσχ[ο]ν τοὺς φόρους τοῦ ἱστοῦ ὃν καὶ παρήφα]μεν ὑ(γ)ιῇ καὶ οὐδ' ἐνκαλῶ καὶ οὐδὲ ἐνκαλέσω περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ὥς πρόκειται καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα. Αὐρηλία Σαραπάμμων ἔγραψα ὑ(ἐρ) αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδότη]ων γρ[ά]μματα «ον».

. . . Aurelia Sarapammon, daughter of . . . , her mother being Tapausiris . . . , and her nephew Theodorus son of Romaeus and grandson of . . . , through Aurelius Pausiris son of Sarapion, his mother being Soeris . . . , to Aurelius Hieracion, also called Dionysius, ex-gymnasiarch and ex-prytanis, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. We agree that we have received from you the rent in full of a ship's mast which you had from me through the period (extending in full?) from the 16th of Pharmouthi to the 15th of Pharmouthi of the present 15th 14th and 7th year, and that we have received from you

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the same mast in good condition and that we make and will make no claim of any kind whatsoever on the basis of the agreement. The receipt is valid and, the question being put, I have agreed to this fact. Year 15 and 14 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year 7 of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most renowned Caesars, Pachon 7th. 2nd hand. The Aurelii Theodorus son of Romaeus and Pausiris. Aurelia Sarapammon, through me her husband Pausiris, have (sic) received the rent of the mast and we have received the mast also in good condition, and I (i.e. Pausiris, the legal agent) make and will make no claim of any kind whatsoever as is stated above and, the question being put, I have agreed to this fact. I, Aurelia Sarapammon, wrote in their behalf since they do not know how to write.

1. $\Sigma\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is certain, but the lower parts of the preceding letters preclude the reading Μαξιμίλιανου .

3. Παυαίος as a proper name does not appear in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, among the names known from the papyri. It is known, however, from Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 74. 75 (ed. Wachsmuth-Hense IV 583).

Inserted between ll. 3 and 4 appears the end of a word, which must be the closing letters of the name of the paternal grandfather of Theodorus. It is written in very small letters and was apparently added later, together with the end of l. 3 ($\Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Παυαίου), which is in the same small and precise lettering.

9. Possibly $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\upsilon$ [$\tau\acute{o}$] $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

17. The first part of Αὐρήλιος is badly smudged.

18. The σ of the abbreviated name of Pausiris is carried well to the right, the remainder of the line being blank.

19. In the subscription of Pausiris the two owners of the mast appear as subjects of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$ (l. 20) in the third person, and in the same line as subjects of $\kappa\alpha\tau\lambda\acute{\eta}\phi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ in the first person plural. The remaining verbs of the sentence are in the first person singular, with Pausiris himself, who alone of the three could enter a legal action, as subject.

24. $\omicron\nu$: after the woman had written $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{o}\tau\omega\nu$ $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ the similar formula $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ $\delta\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ occurred to her. She started to write $\delta\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$, then saw that it was unnecessary, and did not delete the part already begun.

46. LETTER OF FISHERMEN TO A STRATEGUS

Oxyrhynchus

3 1/2 x 3 in.

129 A. D.

Fragment of a communication to Asclepiades, who is already known as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome in the year 129 A. D. (cf. *P. Oxy.* VII 1024 and XII 1420). The desire of the fishermen is not clear, but the document does not seem to be a petition. From 4 to 15 letters are lost upon the right side. The number 9 written at the top indicates that this was the ninth in a series of similar documents (cf. *P. Oxy.* IX 1189) preserved in the files of the strategus.

The word ἀμφιβολεῦς has been known heretofore only in Isaiah 19.8, though ἀμφιβάλλειν, "to cast a net," is frequent, as in Mark 1.18. συναμφ[ιβολῶ]ν, if our restoration be accepted, occurs here for the first time. For the corporations of fishermen and the separate organizations of sellers and salters of fish see San Nicolo, *Verginsw.* I 92-97. There was a tax on the fishing industry called ἡ τετάρτη ἀλίεων (Wilcken, *Ost.* I 137 ff.). This document suggests the possibility that the fishers who used seine and net, the ἀμφιβολεῖς, were organized separately from the hook and line fishers. Until further evidence is found, however, it is safer to regard the ἀμφιβολεῖς as equivalent to the ἀλιεῖς, as indicated by Mark 1.18, Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν . . . ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλιεῖς.

On the verso are fragments of the ends of three lines in a careless scrawl, the content of which is quite uncertain.

9

Ἀσκληπιάδῃ στρ(ατηγῶι).

Φαῦστος Κεφάλωνος τοῦ Δημ[ητρίου(?) μητρὸς

Ταύριος καὶ Ἀμόις Καλλίου τοῦ

μητρὸς Ἡραΐδος καὶ Ὁ[....]σ[.....]
 5 μητρὸς] Διδύμης οἱ τρεῖς ἀπ' Ὀξυρυγχ[ιτῶν
 πόλ[εως] ἀμφιβολεῖς κώμης[....
 πρ[.....]σάμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν συναμφ[ιβολ-
 ῶ[ν τῆς αὐτῆς] κώμης. ὁμνύομεν
 Αὐτοκράτορ[α] Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδ[ριανὸν
 10 Σεβαστὸν πα[
 καὶ τῶ[
 αντιμαλ[

broken

9

To Asclepiades, strategus. Faustus son of Cephalon son of Demetrius(?), his mother being Tayris, and Amois son of Callius son of . . . , his mother being Herais, and O . . . , his mother being Didyme, the three from the city of Oxyrhynchus, seine fishermen of the village of . . . (selected) by their fellow seine fishermen of the same village, invoke Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus . . .

7. The lacuna is too large for πρ[εσβυ]σάμενοι but some such word is demanded by the sense.

47. COPY OF AN OFFICIAL LETTER

3 3/4 x 3 1/4 in.

Third century

As preserved the letter is only a fragment, almost complete at the beginnings of the first seven lines, but incomplete at the ends of the lines and at the bottom. We do not venture to say how much is lost on the right side. It seems probable from εἰδὲς ὅτι (l. 10) that not more than two or three lines are missing at the end of the letter.

The possibilities for the completion of the name of the procurator Augusti (ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ, l. 2, cf. Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsab.* 411, 412 note 4) are either Ulpus Serenus or Ulpus Serenianus. No high official in the procuratorial service in Egypt is known to us who bears either of these names, except the *Serenus procurator* of *P. Lond.* 482, author of an official letter in Latin (republished by Lesquier, *L'armée rom.*). It is dated, by the consulship, 130 A.D. (p. 503). Identification of our Σεβην . . . with the procurator of *P. Lond.* 482 is out of the question, the handwriting of our papyrus being of the third century.

The use of ἐπίτροπος by the historians as the title of the prefect of Egypt is technically incorrect. At least it does not appear in the documents (see Stein in *Archiv* IV 151 note 4). Since our Serenus, or Serenianus, was not prefect, the particular sphere of his activities must be found in the lower branches of the procuratorial service.

The type of activity represented in this fragmentary letter has to do with the petitions of priests and others and with matters of debt. Martin, *Epistratèges* 185, 186, has shown that the epistrategus had jurisdiction, by particular delegation of the prefect, and that the epistrategi were often called ἐπίτροποι in the official documents (*ibid.* p. 109

and note 1). The lack of the title of rank, κράτιστος or διασημότατος, which in our document may have preceded the official title ἐπίτροπος, leaves the matter of the office held by Ulpus uncertain.

ἀντίγρα(φον) ἐπιστολ(ῆς). Οὐλπιος Σερην[
 ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστοῦ νομάρχῃ Α[χαίρειν.
 βιβλιδίων δοθέντων μοι παρὰ π[ολλῶν?
 ἱ]ερέων οἷς περιείλημται τὰ ὑπ' ἐμο[ῦ
 5 πρότερον περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων [
 τὸ ἕτερον σημειωσάμενος π..[
 σα. φρόντισον οὖν ἤδη πότε κα[
 ..]ν. ἀπόδος τοῖς γενεσ[
 ...] ἀπαιτήσῃς αἱ διὰ Ἀνδρῶ[
 10 ..] ἀναγκάσεις εἰδὼς ὅτι ..[
].υ[

broken

48. CONCLUSION OF AN OFFICIAL LETTER

4 x 4 1/2 in.

Third century

End of a letter, evidently from a higher official to a lower, urging him to send some object. The order is accompanied by a threat in case of carelessness on the part of the official addressed. Written in large uncials with backward slope.

...[.....].ωμουρος
 μετ[.]π[.]π[.]ρ^{ου} [[όμοίως]]
 διαπέμπε εἰδῶς ὅτι
 εἰ ἂν ἀμελήσης ἔστι εἰ ἂν γνω-
 5 [[θ]]θῇ ὅφειλον λογισθῆναι.
 ἡ ζήτησις πρὸς σε γενήσεται.
 (ἔτους) ζ' θάθ ια'.

49. LETTER FROM DIOGENES TO HIS MOTHER

Probably Fayûm

7 × 3 1/4 in.

First century

A letter of a certain Diogenes to his mother about family matters. The grammar and spelling are bad, but the handwriting is not that of an uneducated person. The letters are large but by no means crudely or carelessly formed.

The general sense, as we restore it, is: "When you write to me, tell me how our relatives fare. And if you write me about anything here which you need, I will take care of it immediately."

Διογ]είνης Θερμουθάτι
 τῇ μ]ητρει καὶ κυρεῖα χαίρειν.
 πρὸ π]άντων ἀναγκαῖον
 ἐπὰ]ν δεῖ ἐπιστολῆς, σε
 5 ἡγ]ήσεσθαι μελήσει σου-
 τῇ] ὥς κίλλτιοι ἡμέτε-
 ροι πράσσουσιν. καὶ γρά-
 φιν μὲν περὶ δέων ἐὰν
 χρήσζης τῶν ἐνθάδε
 10 μὴ ὀκνῇ μὲν γράφειν,
 εἰδῆα ὅτι ἀνόχως
 ποιήσο. ἀσπάζου τοὺς
 ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες.
 ἔρωσω.

Verso

Δι[ο]γείνη[ς] Θερ(μουθάτι) Θ[

[illegible]

*Diogenes to the lady Thermouthas his mother, greeting:
Above all, whenever you need to write, you must consider that
the matter of how our relatives are faring will be your care.
Also to write to me regarding your needs, if you desire
(anything) that is here, do not hesitate to write me, knowing
that I will act without delay. Greet all those at home.
Goodby.*

2. Read μητρί, κυρίῃ.

3. ἀναγκαίων is possible for our ἀναγκαῖον, but the reading with ο seems the more likely.

4. ἐπάν for ἐπειδάν has so far appeared only in later Roman papyri, but it is otherwise attested for the Hellenistic period. See Meisterhans, *Grammatik* (3rd ed.) 252. 13. [ἐάν] is possible, so far as the meaning goes, but the space would be better filled out by three letters, cf. πρὸ πλάντων in the line above.

Read δέως.

5. Supply ὅτι before μελήσει, for which read μελήσει.

6. κίλλτιοι: see κίλτη in van Herwerden, *Lexicon*, App. s. v., from a late Pisidian inscription, indicating some sort of relationship.

7. γράφει μοι is repeated, as frequently happens with careless writers, in l. 10.

8. Read γράφειν μοι.

9. Read χρῆζης.

We read τῶν ἐνθάδε in its natural order, after χρῆζης, rather than construe it with περὶ δέων in the line above. The writer seems first to have written χρῆσσης, then to have changed the second σ to ζ. The left side of the ζ is closed by a rounded penstroke.

10. Read ὅκνεῖ μοι γράφειν.

11. Read εἰδυῖα, ἀνόκνως.

12. Read ποιήσω.

13. Read πάντας.

50. PRIVATE LETTER REGARDING FARM MATTERS

Probably Fayûm

8 1/2 x 5 in.

First century

Heraclides the writer was the owner of a farm which contained a palm grove with vines planted beneath the palms. The practice of planting grains, vegetables, vines and fruit trees under palms is widespread in sub-tropical regions. In the lands bordering upon the southern shore of the Mediterranean and in the oases of Africa and Arabia this use of its shade to protect and further the growth of vegetables and grains is one of the outstanding features of the economic importance of the palm tree. See Theobald Fischer, *Die Dattelpalme*, in Petermann's *Mittheilungen, Ergänzungsband XIV* (1880-1881) 27, 28, and Schnebel, *Landw.* 295 ff.

From the 28th year of Augustus we have a lease (*BGU IV 1120*) of three vegetable gardens (κηποταφία) situated in the Delta below Canopus "in the so-called Date Grove," where the vegetables were evidently grown on the same plots with the date palms. With this cf. *BGU II 591*, where there are date palms growing in a vineyard; *CPR I 45. 7, 8* (φοινικῶνος ὑποσπειρομένου) and the discussion in Schnebel.

On the farm of Heraclides the palms had reached such a height that the vines growing beneath them were receiving too much shade. Therefore it had become necessary to sacrifice the palms by cutting out the cabbage-like crowns at the top of the trunks. It was well known to the Greek world that the date palm would die when the crown was removed (*Xen. Anab. II 3, 16*; cf. Theophrastus *II 6, 11*, who knows of one single kind of palm which did not die under those circumstances). It is to be supposed that Heraclides had no intention of cutting out all the crowns (i.e. of removing all the trees), but that those which were to go had already been designated. Medicinal value in sickness is not ascribed to the palm crown by ancient writers, so that one must conclude that Heraclides

is merely counting on the salutary effect upon his health of a fresh vegetable. The cutting of the palm bud evidently occurred in the fall, to judge from the date Thoth (l. 13).

The letter mentions two laborers working on the farm, each with several of his own draft animals. The farm property of Heraclides must therefore have been of considerable size.

Ἡρακλείδης Ἀγχορίμφει
χαίρειν.
εὖ ποιήσεις τὰ ἱτέϊνα κα-
θάρας καὶ σκεψάμενος ἀγο-
5 ραστὴν αὐτῶν. κἂν μὲν
ὑπόστασιν λάβῃς, δῆλωσόν
μοι, εἰ δὲ ἀγοραστὴν μὴ
εὔρῃς, πάλιν [γ]ράψον μοι.
πότε δεῖ αὐτὰ κοπῆναι
κοπῆναι
10 ἵνα αἱ ἄμπελοι μὴ σκιά-
ζωνται, πέμψον μοι ἐν-
κεφάλιον γλυκὺ ἐπεὶ ἄσθε-
νέστερός εἰμι. ἔρρω(σο) θῶθ ιβ.
γράψον δέ μοι καὶ πόσα κτήνη
15 Πάπου ἤργασται καὶ πόσα
...]κορατος μ[.]ρο[.]ερ.....
.....]νιν λε[....]υ ἵνα τὸν
....]τηρὰ [ὄν]τα ἐν τῇ
....]τω το[ὺ] συμποσίου
20]ωσι.

Heraclides to Anchorimphis greeting.

Please clean out the willows and look out for a buyer for them. If you take a statement of sale (?) show it to me, but if you do not find a buyer, write to me again. When these must be cut in order that the vines may not be shaded too much, send me a sweet palm crown since I am rather sickly. Goodby. Thoth 12.

Write to me also how many animals of Papus are working and how many of . . . coratus . . .

6. For the explanation of ὑπόστασις as "property statement" or "declaration of property" see *P. Oxy.* II 237 col. VIII 26n. (p. 176), and the corresponding note in Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 59. Here its meaning must be that of an agreement of sale (=an ordinary συγγραφή), because the possession of the ὑπόστασις by Anchorimphis depends upon the finding of a buyer and the sale of the willows.

9. The interpretation is made difficult by αὐτά, which would most easily refer to ἑτάῖνα (l. 2). We prefer to take it as meaning ἐνκεφάλια (from l. 12) because the sense seems to demand this connection. There is no purpose in permitting willows to grow in a vineyard. With palm trees it is a different matter, as we have attempted to show in the discussion above.

10. There is no apparent reason why κοπήναι should have been written in for the second time between ll. 9 and 10. The hand is the same as throughout the letter.

16. There is an oblique stroke above the line, following the letter in the lacuna ρ[.]. The letter following ρ may be μ.

51. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER

Second century

Only the ends of lines are preserved and there is no clue to their original length. Written on the verso of 27.

	τῷ]φιλιτάτω
	χαίρειν]
	]ταγμασι εμπο[.
	]ἀνακολουθεῖν
5	]·τας ποιήσεις
	]κατ' ἄνδρα τῷ[ν
	]ἐδόφον
	]· καὶ πάντων
	ο]ικία καὶ τῶν

52. LETTER FROM GERONTIUS TO HIS BROTHER AMMONIANUS

Oxyrhynchus

6 1/4 x 4 in.

Late third century

52 and 53 are two fragmentary letters, written in the same hand, from an official named Gerontius of the Oxyrhynchite nome to his brother Ammonianus. The script, which is uncial with numerous ligatures, seems to date the two letters late in the third century.

The village Tacona is already known in papyri dating from 2 B.C. (*P. Oxy.* IV 743. 29) well down into the 7th century (*P. Oxy.* XVI 1831). So long as the toparchies existed as administrative divisions the village is found in the Lower Toparchy (*P. Oxy.* X 1285) near Psobthis.¹ It was evidently situated on the river bank, as a report of the Nile rise was sent to the secretary of the Apion family from the village (*P. Oxy.* XVI 1830 of the 3th century). There were several towns named Tholthis in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The one which appears in the documents of the first three centuries as located in the Lower Toparchy could not have been far distant from Tacona, since the shepherds of the two villages clashed in the grazing of their respective flocks (*P. Oxy.* XVI 1831, of the 5th century).

The content of this letter is a mixture of official and private information. Gerontius states to his brother, apparently also a high official of the nome, that on his arrival at Tacona he had immediately taken in hand the

¹ This town (*P. Oxy.* VII 1064) must be distinguished from others bearing the same name in the Middle Toparchy (μέση Τοπαρχία, *P. Oxy.* I 74. 10, 21 and elsewhere), in the Eastern Toparchy (*P. Oxy.* III 504. 43) and in the Upper Toparchy (*P. Oxy.* II 343, cf. XII 1434. 23 and note).

induction into office of the other liturgical officials of the village, in order that the tax collection might be set under way. The technical term for this induction is *κατάστασις τῶν λειτουργιῶν* (l. 4, cf. Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 347). If the letter before us could be dated in the 2nd century it would be clear that Gerontius was holding the office of epistrategus, for during the first two centuries it lay within the competence of this official to select by lot the liturgical magistrates of metropolises and villages out of a list of nominees handed to him by some official or body representing the community (Martin, *Epistratèges* 111 ff.). After the establishment of the Senates in the metropolises of Egypt by the edict of Severus in 202 A.D., the duty of selecting city and village magistrates by lot was taken from the epistrategi (Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 41, 348, 349). Wilcken doubted however that the epistrategus in the third century lost all connection with the village liturgies. Our letter of Gerontius, if correctly dated by the script, proves that at least the form of induction of village liturgical officials still lay in the hands of some nome official late in the third century. The most natural conclusion would be that this higher official in charge was still the epistrategus. Documents may appear which will settle the matter definitely.

κυρίῳ μ[ου] ἀδελφῷ Ἀμμωνιανῷ

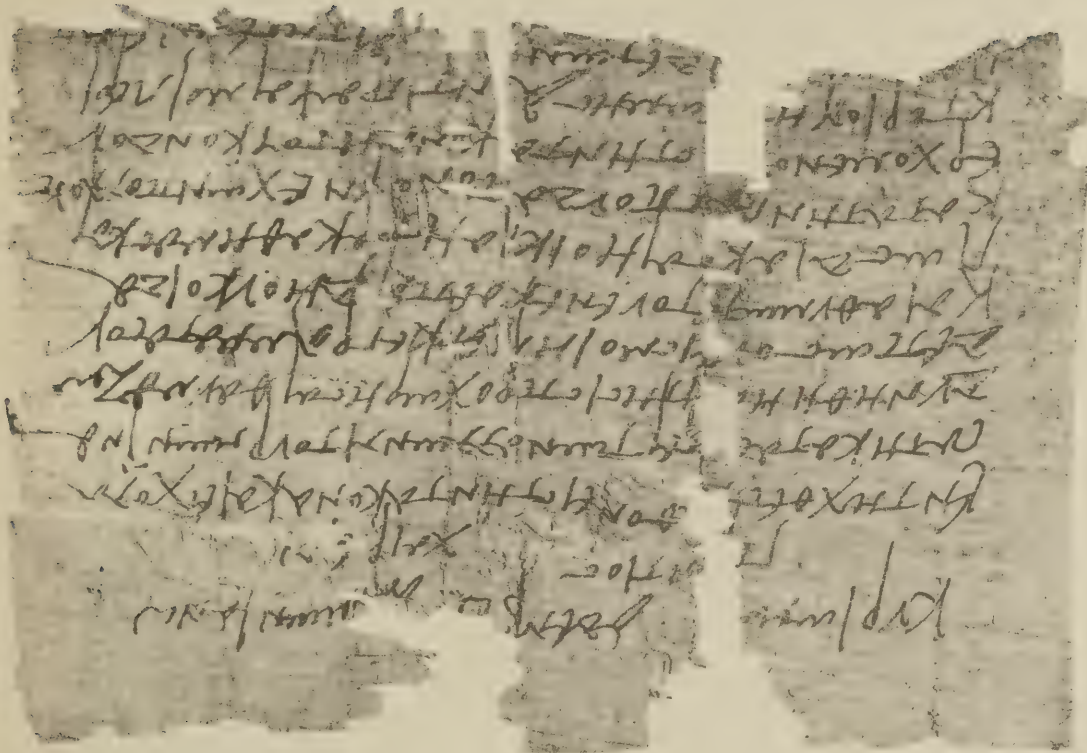
Γ[ε]ρόντιος χαίρειν.

ἐν τῇ χθρὲς ἡλθον εἰς τὴν Τακόνα καὶ ἐσχόλα-
σα τῇ καταστάσει τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν ἵνα

5 δυνήθῃ ἡ ἀ[π]αίτησις προχωρῆσαι. θαυμάζω

δὲ πῶς οὐδεὶς μοι ἤνεγκε γράμματά σου

καὶ ἀθυμῶ τούτου ἕνεκα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἶδα



πῶς διά[ει]ται ἡ οἰκία ἢ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ
 κατὰ τὴν π[όλιν]. σπούδασον οὖν ἔχων πολλοὺς
 10 ἐρχομένο[υς εἰ]ς τὴν Τακόνα ἢ τοῦ κονδου-
 κτορίου ἢ τ[ῆς] κώμης ἀντίγραφαί μοι περὶ
 πάν[τ]ω. [περ]ὶ δὲ τῶν ἀπαιτησέων ἔαν

broken

Verso

κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀ[μμωνιανῷ].

To my lord and brother Ammonianus from Gerontius greeting: Yesterday I came to Tacona and engaged in the induction of the other liturgical officials in order that the tax collection could proceed. I wonder that no one has brought me a letter from you, and I am disturbed because of it, since I do not know either how the household is or how affairs are going with us and in the city. Hasten therefore to write back to me on all matters, since you have many persons either of the postal service or of the village who are coming to Tacona. As to the tax collections, if . . .

Verso. To my lord and brother Ammonianus.

10. *νομβουντορίου* we take to be a neuter form corresponding to *νομβουντορία ὄξεος δρόμου* (*conductoria cursus velocis* of *P. Oxy. VI 900* = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 437.6). We regard the *conductoria* or *conductorium* to be the "management" of the post service, somewhat in the sense of *cura*, and think that the translation of *P. Oxy. VI 900.6* should read, "I have been nominated to the management of the express post."

13. The address upon the verso runs with the fibres, that is, across the writing of the recto. If our judgment that the name of Ammonianus was not abbreviated is correct, about three inches have been lost at the bottom of the papyrus, or about one third of the letter.

53. LETTER FROM GERONTIUS TO HIS BROTHER AMMONIANUS

Oxyrhynchus

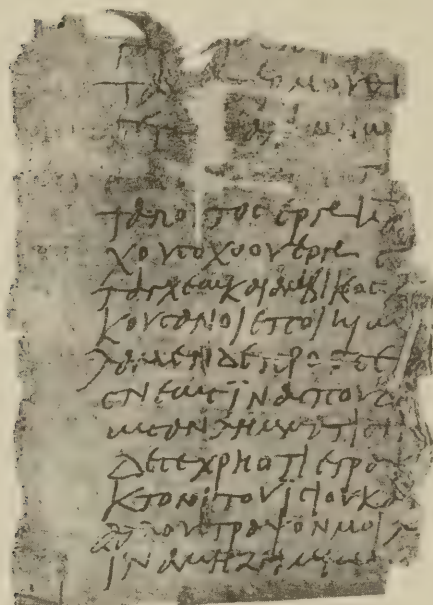
2 3/4 x 3 in.

Late third century

The connection of this letter with 52 was first discovered by Miss Amy Wilson, then a graduate student at Cornell University, through the similarity of names and script. Like its predecessor, it contains information which is apparently both official and private. ll. 6-8 seem to list sums of money paid to a rug weaver who had worked 21 days and to a goldsmith who had worked 3 days, and expenditures for a beaker and some other kind of cup. ll. 9-15 seem to deal rather with official business. Lower Ision, the village mentioned in l. 13, appears in a list of the Oxyrhynchite villages as being in the Lower Toparchy. In two places it stands in close proximity to the name of Tacona, the village mentioned by Gerontius in 52 (see *P. Oxy.* X 1285. 39, 132).

The noun *τάπουτος* in l. 6 (from *τάπους*?) is unknown to us elsewhere. The use of *χρυσόχοος* in the next line and the combination of *τάπουτος* with *ἐργάζωντος* make it clear that we are here dealing with a craftsman of some kind. Evidently the noun is of the same root as *τάπης*, "rug" (*τάπης Αἰγύπτιος* in *Edict. Diocl.* 16. 7). The *τάπης* in *P. Teb.* II 406. 13 may possibly be the correct reading, though its position among the articles of the list does not favor this interpretation.

The first word in l. 13 is possibly part of the title of some village magistrate. *ἀρχιτέκτονι* would readily suggest itself if the office of engineer were known for the villages.



broken

-]...[
 γαρ[...].....[
 τα [Π]στερμούθι[ος?
 γε τῶν ἄλλων ω.[
 5 ...[...]...οιετο[
 τάπουτος ἐργ(άζοντος) κα[ἡμέρας
 χρυσοχόου ἐργ(άζοντος) ε[ἡμέρας
 ταγχεω καὶ ἄμβικος α[ἡ-
 κουσάν οἱ ἐπ' οἰκιῶν[
 10 σνεως ἵνα σπουδα[εἰδέναι?
 ὡσαν λημματιση[
 δέ σε χρή ὅτι ἔγραψ[
 κτονι τοῦ Ἰσίου Κάτ[ω
 ἄλλους. γράψον μοι λ[
 15 ἵνα μὴ ζημιῶ ο[

Verso

Ἀμμωνιανῶ Γερόντιος.

54. BEGINNING OF A CONTRACT

Probably Oxyrhynchus 3 3/4 x 2 3/4 in.

Tiberius

The document was folded lengthwise four times and of the resulting five folds the one on the left was lost. The upper half of the papyrus is blank. Written parallel with the fibres in a good, cursive hand.

ἔτους]υ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σε[β]αστοῦ Τύβι κβ
 τῆ]ς θμοισεφῶ τοπαρχίας τοῦ Ὁξύρυγχίτου
 νομοῦ]σθεως τῇι συνουσα[.] τῶι κατανομυτου
]μα δι' ἑαυτο[υ] συρ[.]υ ἐν ἀγυίᾳ συγχωρεῖ[.].ει
 5 α]ύτην τ....τον[.]των αυ...[.....]αι
]'Ατρέους τ[οῦ] Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Ταλ[...].απτας
]...ε[.....]σιειδαμ[.]ση...[.....]γενομ

broken

3. Θάλλεως cannot be read.

55. MYTHOLOGICAL GENEALOGY

4 x 3 1/4 in.

Early first century

Fragment of a mythological genealogy, probably part of a school textbook or student's exercise. Written in rather large uncials across the fibres. To the right are slight traces of seven lines of another column. On the recto is a very fragmentary account. The surface is bad and little can be read.

broken

καὶ Α[
 ..π.[
 Κελεσ[
 ...ου καὶ Β..υρους
 5 οἱ δὲ Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ
 'Ραδάμανθους Διὸς
 καὶ Εὐρώπης
 Μουσαῖος 'Αντιοφῆ(μου)
 Εὐμόλπος Μ[ο]υσαί(ου)
 10 Τρο[φώ]νιος 'Απόλλωνος
νημ[.]ων
στοι

broken

INDICES

I. KINGS, EMPERORS, REGNAL YEARS

PTOLEMY II PHILADELPHUS.

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρης 2.1, 16.
'Αρσινόη Φιλαδέλφου 2.3, 19.

AUGUSTUS.

Καῖσαρ (ἔτ. γ?) 25.1.

TIBERIUS.

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός (ἔτ. γ) 6.2, 13, 26, 30; 54.1.

NERO.

Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικὸς Αὐτοκράτωρ
(ἔτ. β) 24.3.

TRAJAN.

Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος 7.1, 14.
θεῖος Τραιανός (ἔτ. ζ) 16.10.
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανὸς Σεβαστός Γερμανικὸς
Δακικὸς (ἔτ. θ) 40.1.

HADRIAN.

Ἀδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. γ) 10.14; 16.17; (ἔτ. β) 16.9;
(ἔτ. ις) 16.26; (ἔτ. ιζ) 16.37; (ἔτ. ιβ) 15.9, 15, 23.
Ἀδριανὸς ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. γ) 10.34.
Ἀδριανὸς (ἔτ. ις) 16.48.
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός 46.9.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τίτος Αἰλῖος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνεῖνος
Σεβαστός Εὐσεβής 16.35; (ἔτ. ι) 16.42; (ἔτ. ιε) 41.2.
Ἀντωνεῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. θ) 16.47; 17.4.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (ἔτ. ιβ) 42.1.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA AND GETA.

Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εύσεβῆς Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εύσεβῆς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος
 Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καῖσαρ Σεβαστός (ἔτ. 18) 9.19.
 Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εύσεβῆς Πέρτιναξ καὶ Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εύσεβῆς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Πούβλιος
 Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Σεβαστός (ἔτ. 15) 44.10.

CARUS, CARINUS AND NUMERIANUS.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κᾶρος καὶ Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Καρεῖνος Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι καὶ Μάρκος
 Αὐρήλιος Νουμεριανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες
 Εύσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοὶ 12.1-3.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN (CONSTANTIUS).

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Γαῖος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέριος Διοκλητιανὸς
 (ἔτ. 5) καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλέ-
 ριος Μαξιμιανὸς (ἔτ. 5) Γερμανικοὶ Μέγιστοι Εύσεβεῖς
 Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοὶ 18.19.
 οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμι-
 ανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ
 ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες 19.3.
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ
 καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καίσαρες (ἔτ. 16 καὶ 18 καὶ 5) 19.13.
 16 ἔτ. καὶ 18 ἔτ. καὶ 5 ἔτ. 45.10.
 οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ
 καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καίσαρες 20.16, 36, 55, 74, 93, 115, 136, 157, 178, 200, 221; 20 (a).4, 25.
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ
 καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
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125, 145, 167, 187, 210.
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ιανοῦ το ζ (303) 20(a).1.

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'Αθύρ (Αὐδνατός 1.119) 25r.9, 14, 17	Oct. 28-Nov. 26
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Τύβι 4.12; 6.12, 25; 7.15; 54.1	Dec. 27-Jan. 25
Μεχείρ (Ξανθικός 6.2) 6.2, 31	Jan. 26-Feb. 24
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Παῦνι 2.12; 9.7, 23	May 26-June 24
'Επεΐφ 13.26; 18.23; 24.2; 41.4; 42.2	June 25-July 24
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ἐπαγόμεναι (ἡμέραι) 21.316	Aug. 24-28

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'Απολλώνιος dioecetes 1.79; 2.8.	Διοσκουρίδης 1.97, 116, 125.
'Αρτεμίδωρος 1.10, 128.	Δίσκος 1.105.

- "Ελενος 1. 44, 47, 54, 61, 78, 84.
 "Επαίνετος f. of Epænetus 2. 2, 17.
 ——— priest, s. of Epænetus 2. 2, 17.
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 "Εφεσος 1. 162, 167.
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 "Ιωάννα 1. 150, 166.
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 "Ολύμπιχος 1. 216, 220.
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(b) GENERAL

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 "Αγώνιππος [303] 20(α). 31, 66.
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 "Αθανάσιος, Aur. 'A. [298] 19. 13.
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 — agoranomus of Pathyris [111 B. C.] 4.2.
 — f. of Ammonis [25] 21.237.
 — f. of Ammonis [25] 21.304.
 — s. of Ammonis [25] 21.237.
 — s. of Ammonis [25] 21.304.
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 — s. of Heracliodorus [25] 21.368.
 — s. of Mysthas [25] 21.153.
 — s. of Mysthas [25] 21.277.
 — s. of Petalus [I] 22.77.
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 — f. of Harmiŷsis [25] 21.366.
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- 'Απολλωνίης slave of Theon [25] 21. 150, 279.
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 'Απολλώνιος, Αύνῆς, Διογέ-
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 'Ιεράκιων, 'Ιέραξ, Κοπρῆς,
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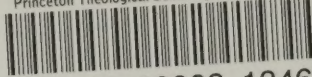
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